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Do I Like The Queen Now?

Negotiating Ethno-Cultural Identity through National
Celebration Theatre Performances: The case of a
Greek community school in London

By

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Declaration of Publications

Material addressed in the following Chapters: Introduction, Chapter 1, Chapter 3 & Chapter 6 was used in the following articles:

Simps, A. (2013). Theatre in Education, Democracy and Greek National Celebration Performances. *ATINER Publications*.

(<http://www.atiner.gr/papers.htm>)

Simps, A. (2013). Theatre in Education and Heritage Language Development: The Case of a Greek Community School in London. *International Journal of Arts and Sciences*. (<http://universitypublications.net/ijas/0603/html/H3V200.xml>)

These were written during the period of my Doctoral study. This thesis has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

Abstract

This thesis explores the negotiation of ethno-cultural identity within a Greek community school in London. The focus is on the national celebration theatre performances and the respective ideological representations that are embedded within these celebrations. It is a qualitative ethnographic case study that employs the methods of participant-observation, field notes and ethnographic interviews. For the analysis I employ a grounded-theory-related approach where inductive and deductive approaches mutually inform one the other. The participants are students, students' family members (parents and a grandparent) and educators of a Greek community school in North London. The project sets out to explore the participants' reported perceptions on their self-positions while they are engaged in the school's national celebration performances. The findings suggest that these celebrations have an impact on the participants' self-positions that are related to ethnic, linguistic and religious parameters. Moreover, the participants' reports emphasise that the theatre performances are permeated by contested ethnic/national, historical and linguistic ideologies that the community members do not accept unquestionably. In this view, the community school could possibly be described as a faith/ethnic related setting where the members of the community can affirm and/or re-affirm respective self-positions while participating in ritualistic celebrations, such as the national celebration theatre performances.

Introduction

1. Theatre, Democracy and Education

In ancient Greek mythology, Prometheus gave mankind fire and he was sentenced to eternal torment for stealing this gift from the Gods of Olympus. As Boal (2006: 66) stresses, Prometheus 'showed that what belongs to the gods can also be used by men' and he was punished because 'when it is fire today, it is power tomorrow'. In a similar way, during the Dionysian festival in ancient Athens, when Thespis introduced the Protagonist he gave mankind another gift: the power that it is possible to stand and speak in front of the Gods and those in Power. 'The actual words he used did not matter- what matters is that he said that it is possible to say things' (Boal, *ibid*). Thespis' gift, like Prometheus, gave men the fire that can become power: dialogue.

In this view, theatre, through Thespis' Protagonist and later Aeschylus' Deuteragonist, proposed that men have the power to speak. Moreover, theatre introduced the fundamental principle of democracy: dialogue. Dialogue proposes that there might be more than one opinion, more than one thought and more than one truth. As such, it questions the unquestionable truth and the naturalised dominant ideas. Therefore, theatre and democracy, both empower the person to question, speak and act so as to make a change.

Castoriadis also emphasises the significance of questioning. He suggests that in Ancient Greece we can witness a unique phenomenon that can explain the political, philosophical and cultural development of that era. For Castoriadis (1999) it was the dual questioning of institutional and social traditions that enabled the Athenians to transform their Polis into the most recognised Democracy.

Questioning is a process of denaturalisation where the familiar becomes unfamiliar and vice versa. It is the unmasking of imposed ideologies that gives

the person the power to question Power. Denaturalisation is a process where more interpretations are explored than the self-evident or the imposed. As Foucault (in Kritzman, 1988: 155) argues, 'to show that things are not as self-evident as one believed, to see that which is accepted as self-evident will no longer be accepted as such...since as soon as one can no longer think things as one formerly thought them, transformation becomes both very urgent, very difficult and quite possible'.

Theatre in education can employ the fundamental characteristics of the theatre craft so as to foster democratic thought and empathy. Many scholars -Neelands, O'Toole, Heathcote to name only a few- have stressed that when young people work together in classroom drama they 'have the opportunity to struggle with the demands of becoming a self-managing, self-governing, self-regulating social group who co-create artistically and socially and begin to model these ideals of the Athenian polis (autonomous, autodikos, autoteles) beyond their classrooms' (Neelands, 2009: 182). However, it should be acknowledged that theatre in education might be approached in a variety of ways that are not always aligned with the democratic values.

Within the Greek educational system, theatre in education is mainly employed as a performing medium to enrich religious or ethnic celebrations. This religious and patriotic character can also be traced in the Athenian ancient drama. Zarrilli notes that the theatrical performances in ancient Athens were part of the civic/religious rituals and ceremonies. He argues (2006: 61) that, 'Greek religious festivals typically included processions, sacrifices, celebrations, and (in some cases) competitions. The worship of dead heroes was among the most important rites of ancient Greece from at least Homeric time forward'. In this view, theatre in education can foster democracy but it can also reproduce ideologies that are not aligned with the democratic values or serve other interests.

If we regard theatre in education as another subject of the national curriculum, then we should not disregard the institutional character of education and thus

the institutional dimension of theatre within an educational system. This institutional dimension proposes that theatre in education might induce, reproduce and legitimise hegemony of dominant forces. Apple (1990: 2), drawing on Bernstein's and Young's work, emphasises that 'the structuring of knowledge and symbol in our educational institutions is intimately related to the principles of social and cultural control in a society'. In a similar way, Bourdieu (1992: 24) associates institutions with symbolic violence, which is 'a necessary and effective means of exercising power. For it enables relations of domination to be established and maintained through strategies which are softened and disguised'. Therefore, he suggests that to understand how symbolic violence is exercised we need to scrutinise the institutionalised mechanisms, such as educational systems, that tend to produce and sustain domination and inequalities.

Embarking from that concept, in my research project I explore the institutional character of the community schools; the role and the ideological representations that are embedded in the national celebration theatre performances that are commemorated within a Greek community school in London; and the implications that the celebrations bear for the community's sense of identity. My main focus is on how students negotiate these embedded ideologies in reference to aspects of their ethno-cultural identity positions while engaged in national celebration theatre performances.

I address this main focus through the following research questions:

- How do teachers, parents and students perceive the role of the Greek community school in reference to ethno-cultural identity?
- What is the place and role of national celebrations within the context of the Greek community school?
- How does the community (students and parents) negotiate aspects of Greek ethno-cultural identity while engaged in national celebration theatre performances?

2. The rationale of the study

My research interest in exploring this field is rooted in two elements: my professional experience and the current socio-political and economical conditions in Greece and Cyprus. Regarding my professional/educational background, I was born, raised and educated in Greece. My degree in Primary Education studies motivated me to study further during my MA studies the field of drama/theatre in education. In 2001 I started working as a primary school teacher (civil servant) and drama practitioner in Greece. In 2004 I had a placement in London where I worked as a community schoolteacher for seven years (2004-2012). The PhD journey entailed both conflicts and revelations that helped me to identify and demystify collective and personal self-positions in reference to the concepts of drama/theatre in education and the Hellenic ethnos.

The tensions that I depicted with my initial placement were related to three fields: language, theatre and identity. Regarding the former, community schools are often described as heritage language schools (Kondon-Brown & Brown, 2008) that aim at the development and maintenance of the Greek language abroad (Law 2413/1996, Article 1, Paragraph 1). This predisposition towards a hypothetical heritage language competence was the reason of my frustration when I realised that the majority of the community members employed English as the main language of communication. Moreover, my students could hardly understand or speak the heritage language. The issue of the heritage language caused greater concerns in relation to identity: do they learn Greek because they feel Greek or do they feel Greek because they learn Greek? The students and the community members were using different ethnic self-positions depending on the context: thus their identities seemed to be situational and context-bound.

The issue of identity also emerged in reference to my personal self-positions: I was simultaneously an insider-outsider. For my British born students I was Greek, thus a stranger. The Greek-Cypriot members of the community – depending on their personal political and ethnic positions- would treat me either as an insider member of the great Hellenic ethnos; or as an outsider

'kalamarou'¹. Therefore, the issue of identity presented a challenging as much as a complicated field of research.

Lastly, another source of tension was related to my drama professional background. Initially I was happy to realise that the community schools had theatre amenities that most schools in Greece lack: costumes, props, lights, sound effects, etc. However, these schools employed a drama approach that may not be identified with drama as a learning medium or drama as a performing medium.

The drama/theatre performances within the Greek community school of the current study could be described as big social events that attract the community and are received with great enthusiasm and excitement. The school is located in North London in an area that may be described as privileged in socio-cultural and economical terms. It is a big school with almost 350 students and it covers a wide age range (4 to 17, pre-school to A Level). During the celebrations, the school halls are usually filled with parents and grandparents who attend these events almost religiously. During the songs the audience sings along with the students; during the dances they clap to the rhythm and shout '*opa*'² to encourage the student-performers; at the end of the theatre performances they stand, sometimes even cry and clap enthusiastically.

Theatre within the Greek community schools in London is predisposed towards the performing aspect, but it also entails characteristics of a ritual. The content and context of these theatrical celebrations is ethnic and religious, often obsolete and patriotic. These school celebrations could be described as transformative processes where old and new generations affirm or re-affirm ethnic and religious identity positions. Embarking from the patriotic character of the ethnic celebration theatre performances, I considered it challenging to explore the community's –often contradictory- negotiation of ethnic ideologies.

¹ Derogatory term to describe Greeks of mainland (Arvaniti, 2006: 6)

² Sound associated with the act of praising performers.

The issue of ethnic identity proved to be a very complex field as it was multilayered. Moreover, new elements from the mainland of Cyprus and Greece supplemented the complexity between identity and national celebrations. What is often called the 'crisis in the Eurozone'³ has led both countries into a constant struggle to survive economically. This resulted in severe austerity measures and increased numbers of unemployed people. The citizens resorted to mass strikes, angry demonstrations and marches that often resulted in riots with the police forces.

On the 28th October 2011, the National Day of 'Oxi', groups of civilians in many cities of Greece blocked the national parade. In Thessaloniki, Greeks protesting against the austerity measures of wage cuts and extra taxes, shouted 'traitors' at President Karolos Papoulias and other political representatives. According to Reuters (2011):

'The annual military parade in the northern city is one of the most symbolic events in Greece's political calendar and commemorates the rejection of Italy's ultimatum to surrender in 1940. It was the first time it had been canceled'

(<http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/10/28/us-greece-protest-idUSTRE79R34J20111028>, accessed 5/12/11)

This incident indicates that people might employ the symbolic ideological representations that are embedded within the national celebrations so as to negotiate new elements of their identity. The national celebration served as an instance for resistance. Greeks based on the symbolic and selective ideology of successful resistance against the Italian army, expressed their own resistance against the political institutions that are blamed for the inequities of power and wealth that they experience at the moment. By resorting to this kind of struggle and resistance they managed to publicly express and challenge the asymmetries

³ for Greek crisis in Eurozone see De Grauwe, 2010; the Economist, <http://www.economist.com/blogs/newsbook/2011/11/euro-zone-crisis>; Reuters, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/04/18/us-eurozone-idUSTRE73H1DE20110418>, etc.

in power and wealth (misrecognition and socio-economic injustice) with the intention of social change.

An analogous phenomenon took place in Cyprus. The Cypriots employed the rhetoric of the same national celebration (Oxi Day) when they first denied the 'haircut' to the bank deposits in 19th March 2013. A few days later, during the celebration of 1st April, many Cypriot political representatives also used the symbolic representation of the EOKA fight so as to encourage their compatriots to fight against the new 'economic enemies'.

In summary, Habermas (2012) raises concerns about a post-democratic rule in the European transnational democracy. He argues that the essence of democracy has changed and power has slipped from the hands of the people and shifted to bodies of questionable democratic legitimacy. Disempowered nations struggle to reclaim this power and often resort to diachronic symbolic representations that can affirm or manifest their ethnic identity. As the two examples indicate, a national Day and commemoration of resistance has been transformed into a contemporary act of resistance against inequities, misrecognition and socio-economic injustice in a post-democratic European Greece and Cyprus. Therefore, further exploration of the national celebrations will not only help us to gain an insight into aspects of the diasporic identity but also to the new identities that are formed within the new 'post-democratic Europe' -to employ Habermas' phraseology.

Lastly, it should also be acknowledged that this new Europe widens the Greek diasporic community. As 2012-2013 statistics indicate there was a reported increase of 43% of Greek immigrants to Germany and the UK (to vima, 07/05/13, <http://www.tovima.gr/society/article/?aid=511294>, accessed 21/06/13). This increase is attributed to the crisis but it has also great implications for the current research project. It proposes that the Greek diasporic communities grow bigger, thus the findings of this research could have a broader transferability/applicability.

3. The title and structure of the thesis

The title of the thesis 'Negotiating Ethno-Cultural Identity through National Celebration Theatre Performances: The case of a Greek community school in London' is the initial title that orientated and navigated the exploration of the current study. Later, it was supplemented by the question 'Do I Like the Queen now?', which is part of the analysis (Chapter 7 §2.a).

As regards the main title, it needs to be acknowledged that this thesis does not have an explicit focus on theories related to 'Theatre and Nation' and national identity. The reasons for this choice are twofold. The former is that important scholars such as Holdsworth (2010), Kruger (1992), Wilmer (2002, 2004), etc. have addressed 'Theatre and Nation' extensively and effectively in the literature. The voices of these scholars provide a 'theoretical background, history and development of nation studies and theatre and nation combined (e.g. nation, national identity and nationalism; national theatres and state-of-the-nation plays, etc.)' (Dorney, 2011: 226). Their work is insightful and could have possibly given new dimensions to the current study. However, while exploring the field of Greek national celebrations within the educational context of Greek community education other issues attracted my attention. For instance, the core place of language and dialect provided useful insights into aspects of political, cultural and ethnic identity. The power relations that permeate the field of language and the hegemony that is reproduced through the respective imposed ideologies became a prolific source for exploration and discussion. For this reason, I maintained the original title of the thesis that guided this PhD journey but with a focus on other dimensions that are not explicitly related to 'Nation and Theatre' theories as these articulated by the aforementioned scholars.

As regards the second part of the title 'Do I Like the Queen now?', I have chosen it after the completion of the thesis. Though it might sound provocative, I would argue that it functions as a symbolical representation of the students' in-between identities. In the relevant part of the thesis the students through a discussion about the role of the Queen manifest the duality of their ethnic self-positions. Embarking from the standpoint that the Queen functions as a symbol of

Britishness, I employed this title in order to show how relational and context-bound are the ethnic self-positions of the members of the diasporic community.

More explicitly, the thesis is divided into two main parts that may not be treated separately: the theoretical approach (three chapters) and the analysis (three chapters). These two main parts are connected through the methodological chapter that suggests a combined deductive-inductive approach where theory and data mutually inform one the other.

More explicitly, the theory addresses three key terms that are entailed in this research: community education, identity and national celebration theatre performances. The element of critical ethnography is evident in all aspects of this research as I try to unravel the complexity of power relations that might be entailed within the specific historical, social and political context. As Boler (2008: 15) argues, 'we must always situate our claims within the historical context in which they make sense' and this 'requires a recognition of representation'.

The first chapter on community education sets out to describe the socio-political and historical context of the Greek community schools in London. I analyse the context and specific attributes of the Greek community in London, the historical background of the Greek diaspora and the aims/provisions for Greek diasporic education as encoded in the Law 2413/1996. This chapter provides the institutional characteristics of community education that help to identify the hegemonic ideologies that might prevail in this field.

The second chapter of the theoretical background could be described as the negotiation of the term identity. Following a non-essentialist approach to identity, I treat it as something fluid; an element in constant change (Hall, 1990). Moreover, I employ Hermans' (2001) 'dialogical self theory' so as to gain an insight into the dialogical processes through which community school members negotiate the variety of their self-positions. Both theories challenge essential approaches to culture and identity and propose 'to conceive self and culture as a

multiplicity of positions among which dialogical relationships can be established' (Hermans, *ibid*). I explore this multiplicity at a theoretical level, by addressing aspects of identity in relation to political, social, linguistic and religious dimensions.

Lastly, the third chapter of the theory addresses aspects of theatre in education and national celebrations within the community schools in London. I start by presenting the complexities of the field in reference to historical and political dimensions. Two main concepts help me to deconstruct the ideological representations that might be embedded in the Greek national celebrations. The first is Williams' concept of 'selective tradition' (1980: 39) and the second is the concept of 'struggle over recognition and redistribution' as expressed by Tully (2000) and Fraser (2008). The former helped me to identify the forms of selectivity that appear in the Greek national celebrations and the ways that this selectivity might serve the production and reproduction of hegemonic ideologies through state institutions such as schools (Apple, Bourdieu). The latter concept informed the ideological background of national forms of resistance and their relation to the current historical, social and political context.

The methodology chapter mediates between the theory and the data so as to provide the research approach that I follow. This thesis is a critical ethnographic case study that employs the methods of participant observation, field notes and semi-structured interviews. The data collection process is supplemented by a small survey that aims at a methodological triangulation of the participants' reported perceptions. The concept of triangulation is employed both for the methods and the participants (teachers, parents and students). Triangulation is not employed as a 'catch-all' (Fusco, 2008: 163) approach, but as an approach that help us to collect 'multiple truths that operate in the social world' and assist the researcher in doing 'accurate, thus done with care' comments (*ibid*).

For the second part of the thesis, I follow a grounded-theory related approach that combines elements of inductive and deductive models. More explicitly, the theoretical framework informed the research questions and the deconstruction

of themes during the pilot study (from theory to data). The pilot study respectively informed both the theory (from data to theory) and the main research (from data to data). Therefore, I employed an analytical approach that could possibly foster the generation of a new theory (from data to theory). This approach produced three main themes for the analysis: religion, language and national celebrations. All three themes were presented separately only for purposes of analytical convenience. In real life they coexist and inform the participants' reported self-positions simultaneously.

For each theme of the analysis, I present the findings of the pilot study and then I proceed with the findings of the main research. This approach serves a dual purpose: it provides the continuum between theory-data-theory, thus simultaneous involvement in data collection, analysis and generation of theory; and also permits the use of constant comparative methods. Both elements are characteristics of grounded-theory as articulated by Charmaz (2006) and Strauss & Corbin (1990).

In this view, chapter 5 sets out to provide the analysis of the theme of religion. The findings suggest a close link that associates Greek Orthodox religion and identity formation. The religious ideologies and practices that are manifested within the Greek community education are internalised as part of the community member's self-construct. The family and intergenerational support also seem to play a crucial role in this process. Lastly, the community school endorses religious rituals and this means that it may also be described as a 'faith setting'.

The following chapter is the analysis of the theme of heritage language. The research project is set in a multi-lingual and multi-cultural framework where I explore the impact of Greek national theatre performances on the students' linguistic identity. Being a heritage language learner/speaker within a multilingual host country often informs the person's bi- and/or multilingual/multicultural self-positions. The members of the Greek community often stand between two cultures and syncretise both their knowledge and identity by drawing on elements from both cultures/languages. Language is

explored in a variety of ways and perspectives: language of the script/performance; language in the classroom; and the students', parents' and teachers' reported perceptions on the issue of heritage language and dialect as practised within the school's theatre performances.

The findings suggest that participating and exploring theatre performances might enhance and foster the development of heritage language. The language of the theatre plays is often employed as a symbolic medium of cultural capital that helps the students to explore historical, religious, cultural and ethnic ideologies and representations. These ideologies are respectively related to a political and historical background and are legitimised and reproduced within educational settings that function as State institutions. The study indicates that these representations inform the students' self-positions and awareness while encouraging membership of the community's collective ethno-cultural identity. However, both the students' and the teachers' accounts report that they do not embrace unquestionably all aspects of heritage language and culture and the respective embedded ideologies. They question issues of language as a symbolic power as these related to political, social, gender and ethnic/national unequal distribution of power. Despite questioning, the participants also stress that there is a positive impact of theatre in education on heritage language development. Moreover, they associate this impact with aspects of ethno-cultural identity.

The theme of language also emerged as a sub-category under the theme of national celebrations that is analysed in chapter 7. National celebrations were associated with the concept of historical consciousness, collective memory, language and identity. The community's reported perceptions emphasised a close link between these rituals and the process of identity formation. Both history and language were reported as elements that inform the participants' ethno-cultural positions. Moreover, the participants laid a great emphasis on the role of theatre for the celebration of the national days. They reported on the positive impact that theatre in education has on providing opportunities for the living experience of drama. The theatre performances in Greek encourage the students to explore new dimensions of the heritage language and history in real

life, natural settings. This exploration respectively is reported as an element that informs the community's ethno-cultural self-positions so as to provide a social framework where the participants affirm or re-affirm their membership to the Greek ethnic community.

The findings are all discussed in the last chapter where I explore the implications of this research in reference to the initial research questions; the Greek diasporic community; and, the Greek and Greek-Cypriot mainland communities. The contribution of this research is multilayered both in theory and practice. Given that community education is still an under-researched area (Lytra & Martin, 2010: xi) there are many studies on minority community schools but only two on the Greek community schools. The former, by Prokopiou & Cline (2010), is a study on cultural and academic identities on Greek and Pakistani community schools; and the latter, by Pantazi (2006), explores the teachers' developing theories and practices in Greek community schools. This means that there is no previous report on ethno-cultural identity within the Greek community schools. Moreover, there is no previous research on the impact of national celebrations on the participants' ethno-cultural identity within the context of the community schools. Lastly, there are limited and often sporadic reports on drama and theatre within the community education setting (Sneddon, 2010; Anderson, J. & Chung, Y-C., 2012).

In summary, I would argue that in an era of great destabilisation and mobility, the exploration of identity issues presents many challenges. Anderson (2006) has characterised the nations as 'imagined communities'. With the advance of globalisation these imagined communities, the concepts of nationalism and the framework of the sovereign nation-state are reconsidered. New approaches to cosmopolitanism question the nation-state model and propose a model similar to Diogenes' the Cynic reply: 'I am a citizen of the world'. However, we can always belong to a local community and a broader human community. The trajectories between the local and the human are often arranged within the spectrum of the attributes of ethno-cultural identities. Theatre can become a very powerful tool to explore these local and global trajectories and it can also

suggest democratic values that emancipate the person from the nationalistic perspective. However, we also need an emancipated theatre that will attempt to ground cosmopolitan democracy through a new nationalistic-free public sphere.

Chapter 1

The Greek Community Schools in London: Context and Function

Abstract

In this chapter I explore theoretically the socio-political and historical context of the Greek community schools in London. More explicitly, I try to gain an insight into the concepts of diaspora, Greek immigration and community education. The term diaspora prevails in the majority of official documents related to the Greek education abroad. Therefore, I analyse it in reference to the Greek-Cypriot diasporic population and immigration in the UK in order to reveal the specific attributes of the population under research. Lastly, I also attempt to trace the origins of the Greek community schools in London so as to contextualise their function from the past to the present. This will permit a better insight into the context where the research is conducted.

1. Law 2413/1996: aims and provisions for the Greek Diaspora

In 1996 the Greek government voted and published the first law that refers to the Greek education outside the Greek borders. The Law 2413/1996, 'Greek Education abroad, multicultural education and other provisions', is composed of 11 Chapters and 82 Articles that define the function of Greek community education. It addresses a number of issues such as the establishment, aims, student and teacher population of Greek education abroad, etc. In this official document and the relevant Greek literature two terms prevail: Greek Diaspora (*Ελληνική Διασπορά*) and Greek Omogeneia (*Ελληνική Ομογένεια*).

The first term-diaspora- has been used extensively in the literature with a variety of definitions (see Anthias, 1998; Gilroy1997, et al.). Each definition conveys different messages according to the context where it is used. Prévélakis (2000:181) argues that, 'for the Greek state, the Greeks of the diaspora are emigrants (apodimoi), Greek nationals who temporarily find themselves outside

the Greek borders and whose only dream is to return'. The latter term, *omogeneia*, refers to 'co-ethnic Greek migrants' (Papanikolaou, 2009: 255). Paxson (1997:40) defines *omogeneis* as 'persons of the same origin or birth (literally) who identify as Greek but who live outside the borders of the state as citizens or residents of other states'.

With regard to the aforementioned definitions (Prévélakis and Paxson), I would argue that both terms refer to Greek origin populations who live abroad, regardless of their intention to return or not. It should also be noted that these populations might have the Greek nationality but different citizenship (depending on the generation or the provisions in the host country). The literal translation of *diaspora* refers to Greeks who are scattered⁴ outside Greece. This could possibly mean that the Law 2413/1996 is designed to make all necessary provisions to ensure vitality and maintenance of this scattered 'imagined community' (Anderson, 2006). Given that the Greek state invests money on Greek education abroad (teachers, schools, design of curriculum, resources, etc.), the questions that emerge are: Why all these provisions are made; and, whose interests are served through this investment? These questions might be further explored through some examples of the Law's articles.

In Chapter 1: Article 1, the Greek state defines the aims of the Greek education abroad. The foci of the aims are on:

1. Language development and maintenance,
2. Ethno-cultural identity and awareness,
3. Citizenship and multiculturalism,
4. 'Diffusion of the Greek language, Greek Orthodox tradition and Greek culture to other countries', and
5. 'Make good use (like take advantage in a positive sense) of the knowledge and experience of the Greek diaspora, so as to enhance science, education and culture in Greece' (exact translation by the writer for points 4 & 5).

⁴Anthias (1998: 560) translates the Greek word *Diaspora* (Διασπορά) as scattering of seeds.

It is evident from the aforementioned aims that there is an emphasis on three main elements: language, culture and religion. All three elements could be perceived as symbolic representations of a 'collective identity' (Woodward, 2004:10). In this view, community education aims at fostering symbolic representations that facilitate adherence to the Hellenic nation. This link between the Greek diasporic communities and the metropolis is evident in aim 5. According to this aim, Greece invests in the Greek diasporic education so as to make 'good use of the diasporic knowledge and experience'. However, the concept of 'good use' is not clearly defined and might raise concerns about the implicit expectations. Is this 'good use' related to a form of capital that is economic (wealth), cultural (knowledge, skills, other qualifications) and/or symbolic (prestige or honour) (Bourdieu, 1992) and if yes, what kind of power relations permeates the link between the diasporic and the mainland communities?

The field of power relations is getting more complex if we consider the role of the Greek Orthodox Church and religion in both mainland and diasporic contexts. As Prévélakis (2000:174) argues, 'the distinction between Greek and Orthodox was not very clear since the beginning of nineteenth century'. During and after the Ottoman Empire era (period of formation of the Greek state) Greek-speaking populations and Orthodox Church coincide. Fokas (2009: 349) argues that in the domain of religion there is a "Greek exceptionalism" due 'to the lack of full separation of church and state and to the prominent place of religion in society'. It is this 'exceptionalism' that helps us interpret the reference of Greek Orthodox Tradition (aim 4) in the above Law.

This is also evident in practice as it is the Greek Church that often organises community education and language classes for the diasporic communities. George and Millerson (1967:291) argue that in London 'one of the many duties of the church is to run evening schools for teaching the Greek language to Cypriot children... The Cypriot churches felt that 'the children will be educated and strengthened with nourishment from the national and religious ideals of the Orthodox Church and the Greek Motherland' (Calendar of All Saints Church,

1959: 12). Therefore, Orthodoxy is often treated as being interwoven to Greekness or as the guardian of the Hellenic culture (ibid: 290). As Ingram (2005: 12) argues: 'Although many Greek immigrants to the United States shared pride in their heritage, this sense of "Greekness" was not based on coming from a certain nation. The main unifying force for Greek immigrants was the Greek Orthodox Church, which is a branch of Christianity distinctly different from the Catholic church and Protestantism'. In this view, the reference of Orthodoxy in Law 213/1996 could be associated with protection, (re)affirmation and/or diffusion of Greek ethnic identity.

In summary of the above points, the main reported aim of Greek education abroad is related to identity development and maintenance within the Greek diasporic communities. This is addressed either directly (e.g. point 2) or indirectly through the development of symbols of Greek identity (language and religion). The Greek state aspires to create Greek diasporic communities that will serve two kinds of needs. Firstly, these communities will function as representatives of the Greek culture abroad (e.g. "diffusion" point 4). Secondly, they will support homeland. After having presented the encoded aims and provisions for the Greek diasporic communities, now I turn the focus on the history of Greek immigration and more specifically on the Greek-Cypriot immigration in the U.K. This will permit a further insight into the historical context and function of the Greek community schools in London.

2. Greek immigration

The origins of Greek Diaspora can be traced back in the era of Alexander the Great, Byzantium and Ottoman Empire. However, during those days the Greek state has not been founded yet and therefore the Greek communities are described as Hellenic communities, which share the same language, and in some cases culture and/or religion.

The Greek diasporic communities at the beginning of nineteenth century⁵, during the Ottoman Empire period, are constituted of educated traders and seamen who were prosperous and educated. The Greek nation-state emerges out of the ashes of revolution against the Ottomans and under the Bavarian administration and the leadership of “the Great Powers” (Britain, France, Austria, Russia and Italy). The first vast Greek immigration takes place in 1922 after the defeat of the Greek army in Asia Minor. A considerable Greek diaspora, again educated and prosperous was forced to evacuate the area (Prévélakis, 2000) after the conflict with the Turkish army of Kemal Atatürk. The Great Fire of Smyrna in 1922 resulted in vast Greek and Armenian deaths and destroyed much of the city.

The next wave of Greek immigration (1950s and onwards) and the following Greek diasporic communities have different attributes and different reasons for immigration. Political events –civil war and Junta- and serious economic decline result in the formation of a new immigration wave. Greek immigrants and political refugees settle mainly in the United States, Canada, Australia and some European countries (mainly France and Germany). There is also another category ‘made up of scientists and intellectuals who were seeking professional conditions which Greece could not offer’ (Prévélakis, 2000:179). McNeil (1978:117) estimates that during the 1960s 25% of the national work force emigrated (in Paxson, 1997:36). However, the majority of the new Greek diasporic population is mainly poor, un-educated and non-qualified economic immigrants who all share the dream of return.

In the U.K., the great proportion of the Greek community is of Greek-Cypriot origin. The aforementioned Law (§1) addresses educational matters that refer to all Greeks who live abroad irrespective of the special characteristics of each Greek diasporic community. Therefore, the Law treats Greek diaspora as a homogenous and unified population that shares the Greek language and adheres to Greek Orthodox faith. However, I would argue that the Greek population in the U.K. –and more specifically in London where the research is conducted- entails

⁵ To further explore Greek immigration trends and attributes also see Ingram (2005) and Zimmermann (2005).

some specific characteristics that do not appear in other Greek diasporic populations. There are political ideologies (will be examined later in Chapter 2) that treat Greece and Cyprus as homogenous members of a great Hellenic ethnos, but in practice they are two countries differentiated by their own political systems and histories. This differentiation raises questions regarding the concept of homogeneity that permeates the aims and provisions of Greek education abroad. This heterogeneity is more evident in the following brief historical framework of the Greek-Cypriot immigration in the U.K. This framework will help us to distinguish the social and political ideologies/factors that differentiate this diasporic community and possibly affects specific parameters of the research context.

3. Greek-Cypriot Immigration in the U.K.

Anthias (1998: 564) argues that 'the idea of diaspora tends to homogenise the population referred to'. However, diasporic populations do not always share a homogeneous historical, social, political and economical background. Damanakis drawing on examples of Greek migrants in America and Germany, stresses that the members of the Greek diaspora are not characterised by 'homogeneity but by heterogeneity' (2001: 26).

The mainland and diasporic communities of Greek and Greek-Cypriots also present a case of heterogeneity. These two communities, though they share some fundamental characteristics such as the religion, the language and some historical references they have different political, geographical and historical background. As regards the diasporic heterogeneity what differentiates the Greek-Cypriot from other Greek diasporic communities is the colonial past. The Greek-Cypriots have chosen to immigrate to the country of the former coloniser. More interestingly, the large waves of immigration coincide with focal points of the Greek-Cypriot armed resistance against the British. This is evident if we examine historically the censuses for England and Wales.

'The origins of Greek-Cypriot diaspora in Britain can be traced back to 1931. 'The Censuses for England and Wales gave the number of Cypriot immigrants as **208**

in 1911, **344** in 1921, **1,059** in 1931, **10,208**⁶ in 1951' (George & Millerson, 1967: 277), **42,283** in 1961, **59,830** in 1966 and **73,295** in 1971 (Bertrand, 2004: 98). Therefore, the peak period of Greek-Cypriot immigration begins in 1951, rises between 1961-1966 and accentuates further in 1971 until 1975.

These stages of immigration may be further interpreted through a brief Cypriot historical chronicle. In 1925 Cyprus became a Crown Colony under the rule of Britain who had acquired an interest in Suez Canal. Britain had to face two main issues in the island: Firstly, to ensure that the two communities -Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot- will live in harmony; and secondly, to handle delicately the Greek-Cypriot's desire to unite (Enosis) with Greece. In the 1930-1931 the demand for Enosis gradually strengthened with the support of the communist Greek-Cypriot party (later named AKEL -Progressive Party of Working People). In 1931, this strong demand resulted in riots and the burning of the British Government House in Nicosia. After the revolution, the British forced restrictions upon the Greek-Cypriots, such as the ban of the communist/leftist party. Therefore, the first Greek-Cypriot immigration wave of 1931 coincided chronically with the aforementioned revolution. Interestingly, the Greek-Cypriots who were fighting against the British colonial rule chose to immigrate to the land of the coloniser.

In the 1950s the demand for Enosis re-emerged and two forces supported it: Archbishop Makarios and Colonel George Grivas. Makarios employed diplomatic approaches and the involvement of the U.N. so as to promote unification. Grivas, on the other hand, tried to achieve Enosis via an armed revolution against the British. The Turkish-Cypriot and the British rejected the idea of Enosis and violent riots were to be renewed in 1955 with the foundation of EOKA (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters-Εθνική Οργάνωση Κυπρίων Αγωνιστών) under the leadership of Grivas. This revolution resulted in numerous deaths (both British and Greek-Cypriots) and the Independence of Cyprus in 1960. The transitional period 1955-1960 was full of insecurity and aggression and this

⁶ According to Bertrand (2004: 98) it is 10, 343 in 1951.

could possibly explain the significant number of Greek-Cypriot immigrants to the U.K. during that period.

During the same period of 1960s there was also a noticeable rise in urban population. George & Millerson (1967:278), based on the affidavits of support, argued that this high percentage (almost 37% in 1960) of urbanisation was related to emigration. Therefore, social, economical and political forces affected the Greek-Cypriot immigration. This is also supported by Georgiou (2001: 313) who stresses that, 'the peak of Cypriot migration was in the 1950s and it continued until the mid-1960s, when immigration laws in Britain and the development of the Cypriot economy led to its eventual decline'.

The last wave of Greek-Cypriot immigrants arrived in the U.K. after 1974. This wave was mainly consisted of Greek-Cypriot refugees who were forced to leave the occupied Northern part of Cyprus. In 1974, Turkey ordered a military invasion known as the *Turkish invasion of Cyprus* that resulted in a physical separation of both Turkish and Greek Cypriots (Pantelis, 1990). Many Greek-Cypriots who had family members in the U.K. moved there and created a new Greek-Cypriot community. The first Greek-Cypriots immigrants who have settled and prospered in London attracted their compatriots to follow them and functioned as guarantors who could sign affidavits of support.

In view of the aforementioned short historical chronicle and the respective Censuses of Britain there is evidence of association between focal Cypriot historical events and the waves of Greek-Cypriot migration to the U.K. However, it should be acknowledged that the fact that Cyprus was a former British Colony and a current British military base raises issues of postcolonial nature. These postcolonial concerns grow bigger given the size of the Greek-Cypriot community in the country of the former coloniser. According to Bertrand (2004: 93) in 2004 170-200,000 Greek-Cypriots and British citizens of Greek-Cypriot origin lived in Great Britain (compared to 640,000 Greek-Cypriots living in Cyprus).

Despite the fact that other big Greek diasporic communities may be found in America, Australia, Canada and some European countries, what differentiates the Greek-Cypriot diaspora from these communities is the colonial past of immigration. This differentiation becomes more evident given the different political, historical and social parameters that permeate the Greek and the Greek-Cypriot migration processes. In this view, these diasporic communities are heterogeneous. However, this heterogeneity is not acknowledged in the educational Laws, aims and provisions that treat Greek education abroad as a homogenous field. Therefore, one of the challenges of this study is to unfold these heterogeneous aspects and explore them in reference to ethnocultural identity. In order to gain a better insight into these aspects, now I turn the focus on the organisation of Greek-Cypriot diasporic education in London.

4. *The community schools*

The community schools could be defined as schools established by ethnic minority communities to meet linguistic, cultural and/or religious needs of younger generations. According to Lytra & Martin (2010: xi), 'they are set up for a range of functions, particularly the maintenance of community languages and cultures of fear that these might be lost over the generations'. They are often described as a 'safe place' (Creese and Martin, 2006; Martin et al., 2004) where minority community members express or negotiate linguistic, cultural, ethnical or religious identities. As Li Wei stresses, (2008: 80) there are studies that 'regard complementary schools as a unique context – safe space, as the authors call it – where transformation, negotiation and management of linguistic, social and learner identities take place'.

'According to the Resource Unit for Supplementary and Mother-Tongue Schools (RUSMTS), there are over 2000 supplementary schools across the UK' (Chen, 2007b: 67). The initiative for the foundation of these schools is often attributed to the failure of mainstream education to meet the aforementioned linguistic, cultural and/or religious needs. Li Wei (2006:76) gives the example of 'the first group of Afro-Caribbean complementary schools that emerged in the 1960s as a direct response by parents who were very dissatisfied with the mainstream

education which often failed to reflect the interests, experiences and culture of the Afro-Caribbean community’.

The *English for Immigrants* (DES, 1963) report was possibly the first report that recognised the linguistic and educational aspects that emerged from the immigrant arrivals from the former British colonies (Conteh, Martin & Robertson, 2007: 2). For this reason, in 1966, the *Local Government Act, Section 11*, offered extra financial support to schools with large numbers of immigrant students (ibid: 3). In 1967, the 1189-page *Plowden Report: Children and their Primary Schools*, devoted six pages to the ‘Children of Immigrants’. Later in 1975, the 609-page *Bullock Report: A Language for life*, devoted twelve pages for ‘Children of overseas origin’.

All the previous reports and acts followed an assimilation model, and laid great emphasis on ‘overcoming the language barrier’ (Plowden Report: Children and their Primary Schools: 1967: 71). For the first time in the Bullock Report (1975) a thread was reported between language, culture and identity.

‘Para: 20.5: Immigrant children’s attainment in tests and school in general is related not only to language but to several other issues, particularly those of cultural identity and cultural knowledge.’

In 1985, the *Swan Report: Education for All* turned the focus from assimilation to integration:

‘Para: 2.8: Even while the official focus remained on the need to assimilate ethnic minority pupils as quickly as possible into majority society, many of the teachers had come to feel that the education process should give some recognition to the differences in lifestyle and cultural and religious background of ethnic minority children - what became known as integration.’

Another important element of this report was that the communities should take responsibility for organising their own heritage classes. Therefore, it was in 1985 that community education was officially recognised.

As regards the terminology that prevails in the field of community education, there is a plethora of terms that refer to these schools and 'each of the terms has its limitations and conveys messages that, however unintended, are disapproved' (Homan, 1992:60). For instance, these schools are reported as 'complementary' (Li Wei, 2006: 76; Martin, 2006:5) or 'supplementary'; Brinton et al. (2008) and Kondon-Brown & Brown (2008) refer to 'heritage language schools'; Janik (1996:3) employs the term 'Saturday schools', etc. I have chosen the term 'community schools' because it is the closest translation to the relevant Greek word, which is *παροικιακά σχολεία* [parekeaka sxolea]; and also emphasises the role of the community for the establishment and maintenance of these schools.

The heterogeneity is not limited to the terms used for this kind of education but also on the specific characteristics. In this view, the student population and the aims of the community schools varies according to the reasons of migration (forced-voluntary, political, economical, etc.); the special cultural (western-eastern), linguistic and religious characteristics of the minority community; the size of this community in the host country; and the years of residence in this country (first, second, third generations). This means that community education is not homogenous even in the same host country. The schools might share some general common features but each one of them has developed its own programme and aims according to the needs of the community that it serves. Therefore, I will proceed with an account of the particular aspects of the Greek community schools in London.

5. The Greek Community Schools in London

In London, the first Greek community school was established in 1952. At the time of writing there are 45 Greek schools in London and 43⁷ outside the London area (<http://hellenic-education-uk.europe.sch.gr/poioieim/paroik.htm>,

⁷ According to another source there are 51 Greek schools in London and 54 outside the London area (<http://www.nostos.com>, 31/10/10).

31/10/10). Most of these schools are 'community' schools and usually function twice a week between 18:00-20:00 during weekdays and 10:00-13:00 or 14:00-17:00 on Saturdays. There are also two full-time schools: the Greek elementary school and the Greek Gymnasium-Lyceum (secondary schools), which are established by the Greek Ministry of education. There is also a Greek Orthodox Primary school, St. Cyprian's, that according to the mission statement 'aims to provide its children with primary education of the highest quality in a supportive learning environment through the National Curriculum, enriched by the progressive teaching of the Greek Language and Christian Orthodox religion' (<http://www.st-cyprians.croydon.sch.uk/page9.html>, accessed 22/09/13).

The aforementioned schools and especially the Greek community schools in London function under the authority of the Greek and Greek-Cypriot Ministries of Education and their administrative in London: the Education Coordinator's Office of Great Britain and the equivalent office of the Cypriot Embassy. They are run by a number of organisations, such as:

1. Greek Embassy in London,
 2. United Forum for the Greek Education in the United Kingdom (Ε.Φ.Ε.Π.Ε.) [Ε.Φ.Ε.Π.Ε.] in which participate the following bodies:
 - a. Central Educational Council of the Greek Orthodox Archbishopric of Thyateira and Great Britain
 - b. Federation of Educational Associations of Greek Cypriots in England
 - c. Independent Greek schools of Britain
 3. Greek Independent schools of London
- (<http://www.nostos.com>, accessed 31/10/10).

As the reason for this large number of organisations was not officially documented, it was further explored during the pilot study interviews⁸. According to the teacher-participants' reports there were political affiliations that demanded the division of the organisations. Mrs. Elena, one of the most experienced teachers, reported, '*at the beginning there were the AKEL members*

⁸ See Chapter 4 §3 for the design of the study, methodology and methodological tools

who established the schools but then other Greek-Cypriots came here and they wanted schools that were politically independent. So they organised the independent schools of Britain. All schools though shared the same dream: to maintain the language, the culture and the religion'. In view of Mrs. Elena's account, the different school organisations affiliate to specific political ideologies and the administrative political parties in Cyprus. All schools follow the same curriculum as this was established by the Greek and the Cypriot Educational Offices.

The aims and objectives of these schools, as indicated by the Greek Educational Office in London and the equivalent Cypriot, could be summarised on the following:

1. Maintenance of the Greek culture and tradition through both languages: English and Greek.
2. The diffusion and protection of the Greek education.
3. The establishment of Greek schools in areas, in which Greek Orthodox Christians live as inhabitants.

(<http://ellinismossoudias.wordpress.com/2009/02/10/γραφείο-εκπαίδευσης-ελληνική-εκπαίδ/>, accessed 22/09/13).

It may be argued that the above aims and objectives are designed according to a triptych that reflects homeland Greek Educational Policy: language, tradition and Orthodox Christianity. In this view, there is a continuum between diasporic and homeland education that could function as a symbolic representation of identity and aims at fostering belonging to the greater Hellenic community.

As regards the role of religion within the Greek culture it may be argued that the secular and religious aspect have always been amalgamated and therefore never distanced. The label 'Ministry of Education, Lifelong Learning and Religious Affairs' is evidence of this amalgamation within the educational setting. It should be noted that the previous title 'Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs', though changed in 2009, still preserved the religious element.

Religion and Orthodoxy also play an important role within the context of diasporic education. The Greek orthodox churches not only functioned as magnetic poles for the organisation of the Greek local community but also supported and encouraged the establishment of the first community schools in London. Moreover, according to the community school curriculum it is compulsory for the students and the teachers to attend a number of church services within the year and to develop their religious identity. Lastly, every school year and assembly begins with a prayer. The latter aspect with the prayer is also a religious element reported in the Gujarati community schools where the lesson begins and ends with a prayer. Creese et al. (2008: 27) argues that these prayers could be regarded as 'rituals, which emphasise heritage and tradition'.

Another element that emerges from the aforementioned aims and objectives is the emphasis on Greek culture maintenance. This emphasis raises concerns on "what could stand for Greek culture?; "whether this culture is perceived from an essentialist or non-essentialist perspective"; and "whether this form of collective culture promotes identification with the respective community?". Given the complexity of all these questions, it may be argued that the educational aims and objectives have embedded ideological representations -produced and/or reproduced within community education- that need to be explored further through this research.

6. Student and Teacher Population

As regards the linguistic and cultural attributes of the student population that this educational setting serves, this has changed over the years, as the generations succeeded one another. Though this student population has started with first and second generation Greek-speaking Greek-Cypriots, today the majority of the students are third and second generation British born Greek-Cypriots whose first language is English. There are also a few Greek students (from the mainland of Greece) of first and second generation who might share different characteristics. However, I will not expand further on possible differences as the student-participants of the study belong to the first category. Since the students are primarily anglophone, they are often reluctant in

attending Greek community classes. Community school attendance is mainly encouraged and supported by the grandparents (first generation Greek-Cypriots) who envisage heritage language and culture maintenance for the future British-born Greek-Cypriot generations.

Regarding the teacher population that serves this educational context, two main categories can be identified. The former is comprised of full-time qualified educators who work as civil servants for the Greek and the Greek-Cypriot Ministries of education. Their placement in community schools is financially supported and organised by the aforementioned educational organisations. As regards the latter category, it is constituted by part-time teachers who are Greek and/or Greek-Cypriots who live, work and/or study in London. The educational background of the part-time teachers varies according to their main occupation (e.g. law, mechanical, accountant studies etc) and they are mainly supported by the school.

The part-time educational staff has a long history within the Greek community schools as this was the personnel that supported the foundation of London-based community education. The schools have maintained this personnel until today as there are not sufficient full-time teachers to accommodate the needs of Greek community education in the U.K. (at least 88 Greek community schools). Especially during the last three years, the numbers of part-time teachers have increased for two main reasons related to the Greek crisis. Formerly, the Greek Ministry of Education suspended the financial support of Greek diasporic educators as part of the austerity measures policy. Secondly, Greek immigration to the U.K. has escalated because of the unemployment that prevails in Greece. In this view, the minimal support for Greek education abroad that resulted in bigger number of part-time community school staff could be regarded as a side-effect of the Greek economic crisis.

The presence of the part-time educational staff within the Greek community education might have implications for the function of the schools but also for the use of the term 'teacher'. The fact that a part of the school staff does not have an

educational/pedagogical academic and professional background raises concerns on whether they should be regarded as 'teachers'; their motivation to participate/support Greek community education; and how they could possibly embrace the findings/suggestions of the present study. All these need to be acknowledged within this study especially when analysing the teachers' reported perceptions. However, the voluntary non-educational staff is a phenomenon that may be found in other community schools, such as the Republic Chinese School and the London Mandarin School. In the former, teachers were former Hong Kong students who now have British citizenship and work in various professions. In the latter, the teachers were from among those mainland Chinese who first came to the UK as students and scholars (Chen, 2007b: 71). In both schools the teachers were parents who had no teaching certificates but had an enthusiasm to maintain the heritage language. In this view, the issue of lack of educational academic/professional experience among the teachers who serve community education is not limited to the Greek case.

In summary, in this chapter I focused on the concept and context of the community school. The aims and provisions for Greek education abroad as articulated in the Law 2413/1996, suggest this form of diasporic education aims at fostering heritage language, culture, religion and tradition. These elements could be regarded as symbolic representations of identity and it will be challenging to explore whether and how these representations are manifested within the Greek community schools in London. As Bourne (2007: 142) argues community education 'provides alternative and autonomous spaces, where oppositional and empowering narratives of identity can be created for the communities involved'. In this view, I will try to explore how these narratives of identity are expressed within the Greek community school context.

Chapter 2

Exploring Dimensions of Identity

Abstract

After having analysed the concept of community education now I turn the focus on the complexity of the concept of identity. As Lévi-Strauss (1977: 322) argues, identity is 'a sort of virtual home to which it is essential that we refer to explain a certain number of things'. Identity embraces individual and collective positions that entail both the processes of belonging and becoming. I commence by exploring the question 'why identity matters?' and then I proceed with a general theoretical framework that addresses essentialist and non-essentialist approaches to identity. This framework is followed by an exploration of identity in relation to culture and ethnicity that aims at establishing a theoretical background for the concept of ethno-cultural identity, which is the focus of the present study. In line with this focus I also explore dimensions of identity that seem to be associated with the Greek-Cypriot population in London. I follow an approach that regards identity formation as a dynamic process that is affected by social, geographical, historical and political factors. Following this argument, I examine political, historical, linguistic and religious dimensions that may be related to the negotiation of Greek-Cypriot ethno-cultural identity.

1. Why identity matters?

The concept of identity has been explored and addressed from a variety of perspectives and theoretical paradigms (Paul du Gay, Hall, Althusser, Woodward, Gilroy, Anderson to name only a few). While it may not be feasible to explore the variety of the prevailing perspectives, it is worth partially exploring the reasons that identity matters and attracts so much attention. I will argue, by employing an example from the current political scene in Greece, that collective and individual self-positions are closely interrelated and are often shaped and/or saturated by the public political and economical sphere.

In 2010 Greece has been characterised as the ‘European Union’s most indebted country’ (Guardian, 3/01/10) and this resulted in a large financing package/loan by the International Monetary Fund (I.M.F). This in turn led in a policy of austerity measures and the respective escalation of unemployment as evident in the following chart by eurostat:

Unemployed persons, in millions, seasonally adjusted, January 2000 - August 2013 Source:Eurostat
(http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=une_nb_m&lang=en, accessed 7/10/13).

GEO/TIME	2012M11	2012M12	2013M01	2013M02	2013M03	2013M04	2013M05	2013M06	2013M07	2013M08
European Un	25,979	26,028	26,346	26,352	26,349	26,412	26,392	26,349	26,317	26,311
Euro area (1	18,793	18,848	19,078	19,105	19,125	19,176	19,212	19,194	19,183	19,178
Belgium	392	398	404	408	413	418	421	424	433	437
Bulgaria	422	423	432	436	440	439	436	435	439	439
Czech Repul	381	378	377	380	386	378	374	363	365	364
Denmark	213	213	210	207	200	202	196	192	194	189
Germany (un	2,292	2,294	2,294	2,293	2,287	2,277	2,264	2,247	2,227	2,207
Estonia	68	68	68	65	60	58	57	56	55	:
Ireland	306	299	294	293	294	294	299	299	297	295
Greece	1,300	1,295	1,302	1,305	1,320	1,352	1,383	1,404	:	:
Spain	6,021	5,999	6,020	6,034	6,022	6,019	5,987	5,946	5,923	5,893
France	3,123	3,141	3,170	3,171	3,177	3,178	3,181	3,217	3,244	3,243
Italy	2,905	2,918	3,043	3,033	3,039	3,064	3,117	3,090	3,084	3,127
Cyprus	58	61	63	64	65	69	71	73	73	76
Latvia	144	144	129	129	129	115	115	115	:	:
Lithuania	191	187	188	185	182	176	172	173	178	180
Luxembourg	13	14	14	14	14	14	15	15	15	15
Hungary	476	481	484	484	462	457	457	457	450	:
Malta	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
Netherlands	500	520	535	550	573	580	594	613	626	629
Austria	196	205	215	220	212	210	200	204	212	215
Poland	1,800	1,807	1,829	1,834	1,835	1,837	1,824	1,807	1,793	1,784
Portugal	912	926	938	934	926	920	903	889	879	877
Romania	669	671	696	704	705	737	727	746	739	744
Slovenia	94	98	103	106	108	109	108	106	104	105
Slovakia	388	387	387	386	384	384	385	386	381	378
Finland	213	214	215	217	217	217	216	214	213	212
Sweden	426	408	405	415	425	424	401	405	398	406
United Kingd	2,462	2,471	2,512	2,473	2,466	2,469	2,480	2,464	:	:
Norway	94	95	97	95	100	95	93	91	97	:
Croatia	298	295	286	281	280	285	285	285	285	284
Turkey	2,309	2,346	2,338	2,318	2,353	2,382	2,413	2,411	:	:
United States	12,005	12,230	12,381	12,012	11,672	11,629	11,722	11,805	11,514	11,374
Japan	2,720	2,780	2,790	2,830	2,680	2,710	2,700	2,550	2,510	:

The rise of unemployment cannot be restricted to political and economical terms as it jeopardises individual and collective self-positions. As Paul Du Gay (1997:288) argues, 'who and what we consider ourselves and others to be as persons is frequently articulated in relationship to work'. In this view, the individual deprived of work is simultaneously deprived of the professional self-position. This deprivation in turn might also affect self-positions related to the intrapersonal level. The lack of financial resources could affect familial stability and relocate the parental and/or matrimonial relationships. Therefore, the cost of unemployment has side effects that might force the person to re-examine former individual self-positions.

As regards the collective self-positions there is evidence in the example of Greece that the Eurozone Economic Crisis affected in a negative way positions related to the group's political, social and ethnic identities. For instance, many scholars have attributed the rise of the Golden Dawn 'neo-Nazi, nationalist movement' (Koronaïou & Sakellariou, 2013: 332) to the crisis and the growing unemployment (Ellinas, 2013; Georgiadou, 2013; Bistis, 2013, etc). Golden Dawn can be described as an anti-immigrant political party that supports 'the model of an ethno-culturally homogeneous state, the party defines nationality in terms of race, blood and ancestry' (Georgiadou, 2013: 88).

According to Adamjee (2013: 57) the crisis has great ramifications for the European political stability as it provides 'the perfect breeding ground for extreme, undemocratic ideologies to flourish'. In this view, I could argue that the legitimate presence of the Golden Dawn in the Greek parliament indicates that the crisis affected the citizen's democratic and political values in such a degree so as to vote for 'a nationalist agenda that calls for the expulsion of illegal immigrants and the exclusion of non-Greeks from the political community' (Ellinas, 2013: 17). Thus, it resulted in reaffirmation and renegotiation of identity in collective and individual self-positions.

In summary, I would argue that the exploration of identity arrives at an opportune time not only for the Greeks as a separate ethnicity, but also for the

Greeks as Europeans. Habermas (2003: 293) on the question of European identity argues,

‘Only the consciousness of a shared political fate, and the prospect of a common future, can halt outvoted minorities from the obstruction of a majority will. The citizens of one nation must regard the citizens of another nation as fundamentally *one of us*’

At this moment of economic and political crisis, could we possibly argue that the Germans, as a dominant economical power, regard Portuguese, Irish, Greeks and Spanish –or what is known as PIGS- as ‘one of them’? This is why it looks challenging at this historical and political point to explore how Greek diasporic populations negotiate aspects of their ethno-cultural identity in reference to the metropolis –Greece and Cyprus-; in reference to the dominant society and host country –England; and in reference to the broader borders of European Union.

2. Identity: Approaches and Perceptions

The concept of identity has been analysed from at least three different scientific perspectives (psychological, sociological and philosophical) in order to explore not only “who we are” but “why we are who we are”. In the literature two main approaches prevail on the concept of identity: the essentialist and the non-essentialist.

According to the essentialist approach, identity is a fixed and stable set of characteristics that are maintained across time and space. Gilroy (1997: 310) characterises essentialised identities as ‘primordial identities’ and argues that

‘from this perspective, identity predates history and culture. It is part of our fixed, essential being, persisting from time immemorial without significant change and alteration’.

This approach to identity deprives the subject from any agency in the process of identity formation and ignores the constant impact that the socio-cultural context might have on the subject. In this view, subjects inherit ‘in some predetermined way’ (ibid) a primordial identity that is maintained through time.

This approach to identity ignores the impact of changes that might be attributed biological, psychological and maturity processes or to the effect of socio-cultural variables.

Moreover, essential approaches to identity might be associated with the generation of stereotypes. Woodward (2000: 52) describes stereotype as 'a simplified, and possibly exaggerated, representation of the most common typical characteristics associated with a category'. Essentialist perspectives on identity attribute specific characteristics to a group of people or to a specific category, thus stereotype this category. Stereotyped categories might be related to gender, nation/ethnicity etc. and can evoke racism or discrimination following a vicious circle where essentialist identities inform stereotypes; stereotypes generate discrimination; and discrimination maintains and prolongs power relations between dominant and non-dominant groups of people.

This maintenance of power relations along with the stereotypes and the essentialised identities are in line with determinism. Determination appears in Marx's theory and as Williams (1977: 83) argues, 'no problem in Marxist cultural theory is more difficult than that of determination'. Determinism relegates the role of human choice and agency to an inferior status. In terms of an essentialist identity, the human subject is not able to re-negotiate attributes of his/her identity and therefore, s/he is not in a position to negotiate or alter existing dominant power relations. Therefore, from an essentialist point of view, the subject inherits his/her identity as a set of characteristics along with its boundaries.

On the contrary, critical theory aims to a project of self-emancipation from domination that could lead to society's transformation. Habermas argues that self-emancipation could be achieved through self-reflection and self-understanding. Both processes entail a constant identity negotiation that contradicts and challenges the stable, fixed and inherited essentialist view of identity.

From a non-essentialist view, 'we should think of identity as a production, which is never complete, always in process' (Hall, 1990:222). Following this perspective identity is something dynamic in a constant change. Therefore, the study of identity is limited to capture the participants' reported identity positions at a specific point in time. In this view, the reported perceptions may not be treated as bound or exclusive as they might not be sustained in time.

I would argue that the process of identity negotiation entails a complex set of dimensions such as difference and similarity; the self and the other; and identification.

As Woodward (1997: 1-2) stresses:

'Identity gives us a location in the world and presents the link between us and the society in which we live...Identity marks the ways in which we are the same as others who share that position, and the ways in which we are different from those who do not. [It is] frequently constructed in terms of opposition such as man/woman, black/white'

Woodward's definition emphasises two important elements that permeate the process of identification: the link between 'us and the society', thus between the 'self' and the 'other'; and the importance of similarities/differences. As regards the former, identity could be regarded as the product of interaction between the self and the other who induces, transforms and re/affirms—consciously or unconsciously— the self-perceptions that define identity. Therefore, the process of identity formation entails constant interaction between the Self and the Other; the I and You; the Us and Them.

The process that mediates the shift from 'I to Us' and from 'You to Them' is the marking of differences and similarities. Similar self-positions or characteristics function as elements that can foster the process of identification.

As Hall (2000: 16) argues,

‘Identification is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure or allegiance established on this foundation’.

In this view, similarities facilitate the process of self-categorisation and identification that aims at creating a group of ‘we and us’. This is in line with Althusser’s (1971) ‘interpellation or hailing concept’. According to this concept, it is the interpellation process that helps the recognition of the subject within a particular category or identity. For instance, biological similarities facilitate identification with the gender (e.g. feminine) and in turn result in the construction of discourses such as, *that’s me* or *we women/men*. In a similar way, biological differences might also define identity in polarised and oppositional discourses, such as *we women-you men*.

In summary, identity is constantly constructed and negotiated through interaction between the interpersonal and intrapersonal level; interaction generates the recognition of differences and similarities between the self and the other; these similarities and differences define the self-positions and identification with another person, ideal or a group of people. In this view, identity positions do not exist per se. Identities are constructed and informed, produced and consumed within socio-cultural contexts. Therefore, there is a close interrelation between culture and identity, what is often found in the literature as cultural identity.

3. Culture and ethno-cultural Identity

Williams characterised culture as one of the most complicated words in the English language. Evidence of this is the plethora of definitions that have prevailed in the literature. Amongst these definitions Williams (1965: 57) recognised three categories: the ideal, documentary and social. The ‘ideal is a state or process of human perfection’ (ibid) and functions as a timeless reference for humans. The ‘documentary’ perspective regards culture as the body of intellectual work that records human thought and experience. Lastly, ‘the social

definition of culture is a description of a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour' (ibid).

As Stenhouse (1971:1) argues, there is

'a classic anthropological definition by Tylor that defines culture as that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society'.

Though Tylor's definition treats culture as the product of social interaction, each definition should not be treated as bound or exclusive since there are many possible interpretations and paradigms.

As Eisenhart (2001:117) stresses,

'If postmodernism has taught anthropologists anything definitive, it is that we can no longer conceive of social groups of people with a culture that is clearly bounded and determined, internally coherent, and uniformly meaningful'.

In line with this post-modern perspective, Street, based on Halliday's grammatical metaphor of Life as a noun, argues, 'Culture is a verb... an active process of meaning making and contest over definition, including its own definition' (Street, 1993:25). Street rejects traditional essentialist definitions of culture that regard it as 'a fixed inheritance of shared meanings' (Street, 1993:23) and explores not 'what culture is' but 'what culture does' (Thornton, 1988: 26 cited in Street, ibid). In view of this perspective, I would argue that culture is informed but also informs and produces the society's 'shared meanings, values and practices' (Woodward, 2000: 22) through discourse. Therefore, discourse is culturally meaningful and in turn mediates and informs the construction of identity. As Hall (1996:4) stresses, 'identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse and we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies'. Hence, cultural identities are historically and geographically defined through discourse.

Moreover, cultural identities are also defined in relation to time. Hall (1990) stresses two different positions on this issue: a shared collective cultural identity that reflects 'the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference' (ibid: 222); and a latter, where cultural identity 'is a matter of becoming as well of being. It belongs to the future as much as to the past' (ibid: 223).

The struggle for a historical shared identity is often evident within former colonial or re-established communities that aim at creating/reviving a collective identity that has continuity and reference to the past. This is important for the Greek nation as much as for the Greek-Cypriot, which was a former British colony.

As Tiffin (1995: 95) argues,

'post-colonial cultures are inevitably hybridised, involving... the impulse to create or create independent local identity... But, it is not possible to create or recreate national or regional formations wholly independent of their historical implication in the European colonial enterprise'.

Therefore, these communities reconstruct the present through reference to the past. A similar practice was followed with the establishment of the Hellenic nation after the revolution in 1821.

As Triandafyllidou & Paraskevopoulou (2002:79) note,

'Even though early Greek nationalism in late eighteenth century was marked by the influence of the French Revolution and the Enlightenment, the nation was eventually defined with reference to common ancestry, culture and language'.

This common ancestry marked a shared past that fostered the development of the Greek cultural and national identity. In a similar way, the Greek-Cypriot nation employed a shared Hellenic past and belonging to the greater Hellenic ethnos.

Hall while acknowledging the continuity of cultural identity, he also places equal value to the transformative (becoming) process of cultural identities. This transformative position is also emphasised in discussions on hybrid, in-between or third space (Bhabha) minority communities' identities/cultures. It is a simultaneous process of renegotiating the past, present and future while amalgamating dominant and non-dominant/heritage cultures. Bhabha's (1994) third space theory refers to that complex process of constructing and re-constructing identity; of syncretising knowledge and reinventing culture as people draw on diverse and different resources (Kenner et al., 2007: 222). 'Third space is where we negotiate identity and become neither this nor that but our own... it is used to denote the place where negotiation takes place' (English, 2002: 109). In this view, culture has a past but also has a present and future. Accordingly, cultural identity has its 'roots' in the past but through new 'routes' (Clifford, 1997) it is reinvented in the future.

In view of the above arguments, I would argue that the construction of cultural identity is a dynamic process that involves shared symbolic representational practices. This process might have continuity from the past but at the same time permeates time and undergo constant changes even across the borders of nation-states.

These nation-states are comprised of ethnic groups, thus 'culture-bearing units...that share fundamental values' (Barth, 1969: 11). It is often difficult to clearly define the concepts of nation, race, ethnic group, ethnicity and nationality, as these are terms that may be used interchangeably in the literature with trivial or significant differences. The connotation of each term usually depends on the context where it is used.

As regards the Greek context, the term that prevails is *ethnos* and it means nation. Though, 'European nations contain a number of different types of ethnic groups' (Levinson, 1984: 3) the Greek society could be characterised as a

monoethnic⁹ nation, where ethnicity and nationality often overlap and are defined in reference to culture, language and religion.

This link between Greek nationality, culture, language and religion is evident from the trends and policies for the acquisition and loss of Greek nationality:

- 'In Greece *jus sanguinis*¹⁰ is the only way of acquiring nationality at birth (apart from *jus soli*¹¹ acquisition for foundlings and stateless children). This excludes not just second generation children from automatic access to nationality, but even third generation children whose parents have not been naturalised. (Bauböck et al., 2006: 30).
- Greece grants nationality on the grounds of cultural affinity, even to persons residing abroad (ibid: 34). It has policies for granting nationality to ethnic diasporas or descendants of former nationals (ibid: 9).
- In 1998 Greece abolished the heavily-criticised rule that nationals who are not of Greek orthodox descent could be deprived of their nationality, even if this made them stateless, once they abandoned Greek territory 'with no intention of returning'. (ibid: 10). In Greece, lawyers regularly advise Muslim clients [who apply for the Greek nationality] to be baptised in order to overcome the difficulties. (ibid: 44)'.

The above examples indicate a close association between Greek nationality, religion and culture (cultural affinity). Moreover, these attributes are recognised as inclusive characteristics of Greek nationality even if the person resides abroad or is a descendant of a former national. In this view, for the Greek case the term ethnocultural identity is often employed as an inclusive term that denotes a

⁹ Some exceptions might be found in Thrace where Muslim minority communities of Greek or Turkish nationality inhabit the area.

¹⁰ *Jus sanguinis* (Latin: right of blood) is a principle of nationality law by which citizenship is not determined by place of birth but by having instead one or both parents who are citizens of the state or more generally by having state citizenship or membership to a nation determined or conferred by -ethnic, cultural or other- descent or origin, e.g. by belonging to a diaspora, i.e. without necessarily having progenitors that are or were citizens of that state per se. It contrasts with *jus soli* (Latin for "right of soil"). (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jus_sanguinis, accessed 10/10/13).

¹¹ Countries that have acceded to the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness will grant nationality to otherwise stateless persons who were born on their territory, or on a ship or plane flagged by that country. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jus_soli, accessed 10/10/13).

person who is Greek *jus sanguinis*, thus has the right by blood; has a cultural affinity and in most cases a faith affiliation to Greek Orthodox Christianity.

The above policies have implications for the educational practices and the current research. The following example gives evidence of exclusion practices that are employed within the Greek national educational celebrations. During the last decade a number of incidents have been reported where Albanian students were not allowed to hold the Greek flag during the national parade. 'Traditionally, the Greek national symbol is handed to the best pupil of the school in recognition of that pupil's excellence' (Tzanelli, 2006: 28). In 2000 Odysseus Cenai (Odhise Qenaj), an Albanian student whose family had migrated to Greece a few years earlier, gave up his right to parade as he encountered hostility from the local Greek community. New legislation passed that demanded non-Greek students to be enrolled in public schools for at least for two years in order to carry the flag. However, this legislation did not prevent the repetition of similar incidents (the last recorded in Crete in October 2013; <http://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/322563/kriti-adidraseis-gia-aristouha-simaiforo-apo-tin-alvania-/>, accessed 26/10/13).

In summary, I would argue that the issue of Greek ethno-cultural identity could be characterised as a complex one where nationality, religion and language often overlap or supplement each other. In order to explore this concept further I will now turn the focus on the aspect of identity within the Greek-Cypriot diasporic community in London, which is the context under research.

4. Dimensions of Greek-Cypriot ethno-cultural identity

In view of the above theoretical framework, identity formation is a dynamic process affected by social, cultural, geographical, historical and political factors. By drawing on Herman's theory I will attempt to explore how the aforementioned factors could be related to the negotiation of Greek-Cypriot ethno-cultural identity.

In Hermans' Dialogical Self Theory

'self and culture are conceived of in terms of a multiplicity of positions among which dialogical relationships can develop... this entails the possibility of studying self and culture as a composite of parts...it allows the study of the self as *culture-inclusive* and of culture as *self-inclusive*.' (Hermans, 2001: 243).

What seems to be very significant for our study is the emphasis on the multiplicity of positions. As Prokopiou and Kline stress, dialogical theories offer a dynamic perspective on the identities of ethnic minority young people.

'Their identities should not be studied just as static comparisons between various beings, i.e. being Pakistani or Greek versus British, but rather as a process through which they are in a constant negotiation of the many aspects that constitute their multiple cultural identities, i.e. I as a Muslim, I as a Pakistani, I as British etc.' (Prokopiou & Kline, 2010: 74).

For this reason I will try to explore theoretically several dimensions of the Greek ethno-cultural identity that might inform the participants' negotiation of their own self-positions.

4.a Political Ideologies and Identity

'What are you?'/Ti Eisai? is a question I rarely wanted to answer from the day I remember my self as a primary student in Cyprus. It felt like signing an oral conscience certificate: By replying that I was Greek Cypriot or Cypriot I would be presumed to being a left-winger. If I responded that I was Greek, I would be presumed a right-winger. The unofficial conscience certificate I talk about represents an aspect of what is identified as the struggle between hellenocentrism and cyprocentrism. (Avraamidou, 2013: 1)

As Avraamidou's extract indicates, there is a close association between the Greek-Cypriot political and national self-positions, where one might inform the other in a very complex way. As I will argue, this complexity is rooted in

historical and socio-political parameters that defined the Greek-Cypriot collective identity.

Historically, after a 5-year Greek-Cypriot armed anti-colonial fight against the British followed the genesis of the Cypriot nation. However, the Cypriot ethno-political and geographical arena changed in 1974 after the Turkish invasion in the northern part of Cyprus. This invasion resulted in the coexistence of two different ethnicities (Greek and Turkish) within the same geographical terrain often controlled by E.U. policies, U.N peacekeeping forces and the presence of UNFICYP. After 1974 Cyprus can be described as a bi-zonal and bi-communal territory with two overt reference points: Greece and Turkey. Besides these two reference points, it should also be acknowledged the British post-colonial presence that maintains power and control in several domains. Given this historical and political complexity, in this part I will explore the possible ethnic self-categorisations (Greek, Cypriots and/or Greek-Cypriot) in relation to the respective political ideologies and discourses.

Adorno and Habermas define 'ideology as socially necessary illusion or socially necessary false consciousness' (Finlayson, 2005: 11). Similarly, Marx and Engels emphasise the 'sense of ideology as illusion, false consciousness, unreality, upside-down reality' (Williams, 1976: 156). In this view, the concepts of nation, nationality/ethnicity could possibly be described as ideologies, thus as false ideas and beliefs that serve the domination and the power of the nation. While the state/nation could serve a number of economical and political interests, the nation as idea, could be 'nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships'? (Marx and Engels in Williams, 1976: 155).

Anderson defines nation as 'an imagined political community- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign' (1983: 6). He uses the term 'imagined' to denote that the members of a nation 'will never know most of their fellow-members' (ibid). Accordingly, each nation is limited because outside its borders lie other nations. Lastly, nations are imagined as sovereign, as free from inherited dynastic or 'divinely-ordained realm' (ibid: 7). Following the above

arguments, we could argue that nations do not exist per se but are invented to serve political, economical, military and/or social agents and the relations of domination. Similarly, I could argue that the agency of the national or ethnic identities might not belong to the subject but to those who induce the subject to hold the ideology of the nation. In this view, what are the political and national ideologies regarding the Greek-Cypriot nation and how these ideologies inform the respective reported self-positions. In order to address this issue in more details it is necessary to explore how the historical background has informed the respective political ideologies.

Historical background

In the recent history of Cyprus (after 1950) two main political parties and ideologies prevail in the Greek-Cypriot political field. The former is AKEL (*Anorthotiko Komma Erghazomenou Laou* -Party of The Uprising of Working People), the major left-wing party; and the latter is DISI (*Dhimocratikos Synagermos* -Democratic Rally), the right-wing party. Each political party contests national identities by employing specific symbolic representations (Mavratsas, 1999; Papadakis, 1998; Peristianis, 2006). These political and national ideologies inform perceptions of the nation and the Other and are closely associated with focal Cypriot historical events that I will present briefly in this section.

During the years 1955-1959 the Greek-Cypriots fought against the British coloniser with the demand for independence and Enosis, thus Unification with Greece. Similarly, the Turkish-Cypriots inhabitants of the island were asking either Taksim (partition with each community associated with its motherland) or return of the Cyprus to Turkey. In 1955 a big warfare erupted with the initiative of EOKA (*Ethniki Organosi Kuprion Agoniston* [National Organization of Cypriot Fighters]). This fight resulted in the 'Independence of 1960 imposed upon the Cypriots by Britain, Greece and Turkey' (Mavratsas, 1999: 91). 'These states were to act as guarantor powers of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state' (Papadakis, 1998: 152). The flourish of the two contested Greek-Cypriot national ideologies can probably be located at this point.

AKEL, often described as a left-wing communist¹² party, was supporting an interethnic view, arguing for a Cypriot population that embraces both ethnicities (Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots). As Papadakis (1998: 153) argues, AKEL's 'rhetoric emphasised the need for Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot workers to unite against Western imperialism'. AKEL drawing on this interethnic rhetoric and the political destabilisation in Greece (Junta) was opposed to Enosis arguing that the time was not right for unification with Greece.

An important historical figure of that era was Archbishop Makarios who was the first President of the Republic of Cyprus. According to Fisher (2001: 310) the duality of his role, Archbishop and President, 'demonstrates the strong continuing link between church and state'. AKEL was allied with Archbishop Makarios supporting a common antifascist and anti-Junta belief though they shared no common political ideology. This anti-fascist belief along with the junta political situation in Greece made the demand for Enosis weaker. This resulted in the creation of two camps: 'the great majority of Greek-Cypriots who rallied around Makarios Makariakoi or *anexartisiakoi* (pro-Makarios or pro-independence) and their opponents of the extreme right, Grivikoi or *enotikoi* (pro-Grivas or pro-enosis)' (Peristianis, 2006: 104).

There are arguments that support that in '1971 with the support of the Greek military Junta (1967-1974), Grivas set up EOKA B', a para-state terrorist organisation, whose primary target was Makarios and whose chief intention was to overthrow the government' (Knapp & Antoniadou, 2002: 23; see also Kaufmann, 2007:207). This resulted in the Greek military coup on 15 July 1974 and provoked the Turkish invasion and division of the island: Greek Cypriots to the south and Turkish Cypriots to the north (Papadakis et al., 2006). In this view, the invasion/occupation of the northern part of Cyprus by Turkish troops may be partially attributed to the debatable role and support of Greece. As Papadakis

¹² AKEL is 'the predecessor of KKK (Kommounistiko Komma Kuprou [Communist Party of Cyprus]), formed in 1926, which views the emergence of a class consciousness within the capitalist relations of production' (Charalabous, 2011: 428)

et al. (2006: 3) stress, even after the events of 1974 'Greek Cypriots continued to lean toward Greece for political support, despite a strong sense of betrayal by Greece due to the disastrous actions of the Greek junta'. What seems to be important for the present study is that EOKA B was supporting a right-wing nationalist ideology with an ultimate goal for Enosis with Greece.

Political Ideologies, National Ideologies and Nationalism

According to Papadakis (1998), Mavratsas, (1999), Peristianis (2006), Avraamidou (2013) et al., the polarised political ideologies of AKEL and DISI, along with the historical symbolic representations that each party bears, inform two diametric national identities and two types of nationalism. AKEL embraces the reference to *Kypriakos Laos* (Cypriot People) with a Cypriot identity. As stressed earlier,

'The term Cypriot people alludes to a different historical paradigm which is one of *traditional coexistence* between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. In that paradigm AKEL's role in fostering interethnic cooperation has been paramount' (Papadakis, 1998: 155).

On the contrary, DISI employs 'Cypriot Hellenism' to denote a collective identity which is grounded: (1) in the history of the ancient Hellenic nation, (2) in the concept of a one Unified Greek nation (Enosis), and (3) in the Christian Orthodox identity (see also later discussion on religious identity §4.d) (Papadakis, 1998; Peristianis, 2006; Avraamidou, 2013).

These two contested national and political ideologies are manifested through different material or discourse symbols. For instance, AKEL lays greater emphasis on using only the Greek-Cypriot flag and they often refer to Greeks of mainland as 'kalamaradhes' (a derogatory term) (Papadakis, 1998: 157). DISI on the other hand refers to Greeks of mainland as 'our brothers' and displays both the Greek and the Greek-Cypriot flag to make a claim on a unified Hellenic nation.

In view of the aforementioned arguments, I could argue that the Greek-Cypriots who affiliate to the political ideology of AKEL identify with the concept of Cypriotness and are more open to resolve interethnic issues of Cyprus. On the other hand, the Greek-Cypriots, who are closer to the DISI political narratives, identify more with the concept of Greekness and could be characterised as 'Greek nationalists who are less tolerant of the Turkish-Cypriot community' (Mavratsas: *ibid*). However, it should be acknowledged that these political-ethnic ideologies should not be treated as bound or exclusive but as a proposed analytical framework.

Within this analytical framework it should also be noted that these political-ethnic narratives and the respective identity positions inform and are informed by different types of nationalism. For many scholars (Mavratsas, 1999; Papadakis, 1998; Peristianis, 2006, Loizos, 1974, etc.) the emphasis on Enosis is identified with narratives of Cypriot nationalism and right-wing political ideologies. 'Cypriotism' is often perceived as the antipodal view to nationalism and according to Antoniadou & Peristianis (1999: 3) it 'rose to prominence in the years right after 1974, as a reaction to what was widely perceived as the great betrayal of Greece'.

Regarding Cypriot nationalism, two perspectives prevail in the literature. The older and most common was first articulated by Loizos in his 1974 essay 'The progress of Greek Nationalism in Cyprus, 1878-1970'. In this essay he identifies nationalism with Enosis because

'Loizos did not believe that there was another type of nationalism among Greek-Cypriots since, as he saw it, enosis *excluded other possible nationalisms, for example a Cypriot nationalism which would have sought to unite the island's Greek and Turkish populations*' (Loizos: 1974: 35 cited in Peristianis, 2006: 101).

In contrast, Peristianis (2006: 102) distinguishes two types of nationalism in Cyprus: ethnic nationalism and territorial/civic nationalism. The former, often

termed Hellenocentrism, based on pre-existing ethnic ties and genealogy of its members emphasises Greek-Cypriot belonging to the greater Hellenic ethnos (nation). The latter, termed Cypriocentrism, focuses on Cyprus as a territory element of unity and emphasises 'the elements that unite all Cypriots, regardless of ethnicity, into one people (laos)' (Peristianis, 2006: 102).

In summary of the above, I would argue that theory suggests a link between the historical, political and ethnic narratives. This means that the participants' ethnic self-reports -Greek, Greek-Cypriot or Cypriot- might be closely interrelated to their political self-positions. Accordingly, the participants' reported perceptions on issues such as language, religion, flag or Enosis could also be interpreted as symbolic representations of their ethnic or political identity. In this view, the theory on the political dimension of the Greek-Cypriot identity is a complex field that might inform or be informed by other aspects of identity. Employing Hermans' Dialogical-Self theory, there is a constant dialogical process between the inside self-positions (identify with a certain ethnic position) with the outside self-positions (supporting a political party or ideology). I would argue that this dialogical process is mediated and often manifested through the use of symbols or symbolical narratives that connect the inside self-positions with the outside. Therefore, the participants' self-reports on ethnic positions will be cross-analysed with the respective reported perceptions on the symbolic representations of ethnic identity.

4.b. Language, Power and Identity

One of the symbolic representations that will be explored in reference to identity is language, because as Bourdieu (1991) asserts language has a symbolic power. Two main approaches prevail on the field of language: the linguistic that treats language as a code and focuses on elements of structure, semantics and specific linguistic features; and, language and discourse as representation (Hall, 1996). In this latter approach the focus is on the 'social nature of language as one of its internal characteristics' (Bourdieu, 1991: 34) and it explores 'how language is used to construct relationships, identity, and so on' (Morgan, 2004: 4). In this project it is the latter approach that I employ and language is regarded as a

complex product of a set of social, historical and political conditions. These conditions inform the linguistic habitus that often reflects socio-economic, ethnic, cultural and educational parameters. This perspective suggests a strong association between language and culture.

As regards the linguistic habitus of minority communities the issue is more complex because 'a linguistic and cultural background different from the respective national one serves as a means of exclusion, of prevention from equal access' (Gogolin, 2002: 123). This exclusion raises issues of power and hegemony and could result in dilemmas such as maintenance of the heritage language along with the dominant (additive/balanced bilingualism) or investment on the linguistic capital of the dominant language (subtractive bilingualism)? Baker (2006: 4) argues that 'there are politics of a country that favor the replacement of the home language by the majority language'. The U.K. politics could possibly be described as such politics that favor monolingualism, since older educational documents stress assimilation policies (Chapter 1 §1) and regard the heritage language as a 'language barrier' (Plowden Report: Children and their Primary Schools: 1967: 71).

The issue of Greek-Cypriot heritage language maintenance within the U.K. is not only affected by these politics, but it also has some further socio-political and linguistic dimensions. The socio-political dimensions are related to Cyprus' former colonial relation to Britain. One of the post-colonial effects is the value and prestige of the coloniser's language. This is evident in Cyprus where according to the study of McEntee-Atalianis & Pouloukas (2010: 34) the use of the English language reflects a socioeconomic power as

'English within the Greek-Cypriot community is not only exploited as a token in its own right, but also continues to be exchanged from one form, e.g. cultural capital (e.g. English language qualification/degree from an English-speaking university/college) for another, e.g. economic capital (e.g. a job)'.

The linguistic aspect that might jeopardise heritage language maintenance is related to the issue of Greek-Cypriot diglossia, thus the use of two varieties: Standard Modern Greek and Greek-Cypriot dialect. Diglossia accentuates any language-related power issues by discriminating the varieties in High and Low (Ferguson, 1959). Moreover, the issue of the two varieties is also associated with the two dominant political positions and the respective ethnic ideologies. Christofides (2010: 416) drawing on Papapavlou's examination of bidialectalism proposes that the Greek-Cypriots prefer the use of the Standard Modern Greek variety

'because of a desire to align themselves with Greece prompted by the ambiguities of ethnic identity in Cyprus, as well as *the educational policies . . . that inculcate Greek national values and probably discourage the development of Cypriot consciousness*' (Papapavlou 1998: 25)'.

In this view, the issue of Greek-Cypriot dialect has embedded political and ethnic dimensions that inform the respective self-positions (see also later discussion on dialect issues).

Linguistic Homogeneity and Diversity

On the issue of linguistic homogeneity Bourdieu (1991) argues that French Revolution resulted in the use of the official language to the status of national language. This secured access to the monopoly of political power to the socially and economically dominant class that already had competence in the official, national and political language. Moreover, regional dialects and their speakers were devalued through comparisons to the ideal language/speaker. The process of legitimisation of this national language was promoted through the educational system that designed all official books/documents (schoolbooks, dictionaries, etc.) according to that dominant language. The legitimisation of this national linguistic capital (cultural) resulted in further reproduction of unequal distribution of power and capital (symbolic and economic).

Gogolin (2002: 127) argues that despite that fact that linguistic and cultural plurality always characterised Europe,

‘the European, nation state is ideologically based on the notion of cultural and linguistic homogeneity ...the myth of uniformity of language and culture permeates the structures, forms and contents of European school systems’.

This means that within this homogenous monolingual market the minority heritage languages and/or regional dialects are devaluated. Respectively, the speakers of these languages/varieties, who do not have access to the legitimate or high prestigious linguistic variety, have limited access to educational opportunities and therefore to other forms of capital (cultural, symbolic and/or economic). Bourdieu (1991: 82) asserts that ‘the sense of the value of one’s own linguistic products is a fundamental dimension of the sense of the knowing the place which one occupies in the social space’. In this view, the legitimisation of linguistic homogeneity is another medium that reproduces unequal distribution of power and wealth where the value of the linguistic habitus defines the place within the social market.

Linguistic Homogeneity in Greece (Standard Modern Greek)

The issue of linguistic homogeneity has a long history in Greece. What is today known as Standard Modern Greek has its roots in the Ancient Greek language but has changed radically through linguistic borrowings, neologisms, etc. For instance, the 400 years under the rule of Ottoman Empire have enriched the Greek vocabulary with many Turkish words. Similarly, the Greek Ionian Islands after the Crusades and the Venetian possessions of the Eastern Mediterranean used many Venetians’ origin words – or Italianisms (Kahane, 1986)-. Different forms of dialects also appear in areas that are geographically isolated from the mainland of Greece (e.g. Crete) and in the past could not enjoy direct contact with the intellectual centers of Greece.

The debate on linguistic homogeneity has become a major political and social issue during the period of the Greek Enlightenment (1730-1830). It is known as *γλωσσικό ζήτημα* (glossiko zitima-language matter) and it has divided the intellectual Greek community in two polarised camps: the supporters of the Greek puristic language (*καθαρεύουσα*-katharevousa) and the supporters of the

Modern Greek language (*δημοτική*- dhimotiki). According to Dimaras (1989) the major problem for the Enlightenment was for the Greek people to establish their national identity. The intellectuals of that period advocated that this could only be accomplished through education. But for solving the problem of education, people needed to solve first the problem of language, thus the medium for education.

This 'Language matter' or 'Language conflict' resulted in a form of diglossia: the spoken dhimotiki (language of the people) and the official puristic Greek language of the new nation, an amalgam of ancient and Modern Greek. This diglossia was abolished in 1976 and gave its place to a standard variety: the Standard Modern Greek language based on dhimotiki but with a katharevousa component. Within the framework of linguistic homogeneity, all educational resources changed so as to accommodate the legitimisation of this new dominant linguistic variety. The new schoolbooks abandoned the traditional breathings (rough and smooth) and the complex accents (acute, circumflex and grave) and replaced them with a single upside-down line. Other changes included simplification of the syntax and morphology, the script and phonology.

Greek-Cypriot Dialect and Standard Modern Greek

A similar phenomenon of diglossia, as the aforementioned, still occurs in the Greek-Cypriot language. The term diglossia refers to the co-existence and use of two or more varieties of the same language within the same community. One is often defined as the superposed variety of high status and prestige and the other as the regional dialect of low prestige¹³. The superiority, status and prestige of each variety are related to political, economical and religious¹⁴ factors.

The term diglossia¹⁵ literally means having two languages. Initially, Ferguson (1959) described diglossia in terms of dialect (two varieties of the same

¹³ During Greek Enlightenment period, katharevousa was considered the high status official language and dhimotiki the low status, popular language.

¹⁴ 'In Greek the language of the New Testament is felt to be essentially the same as the katharevousa, and the appearance of a translation of the New Testament in demotic was the occasion for serious rioting in Greece in 1903' (Wei, 2000: 70)

¹⁵ It is a Greek word denoting two languages.

language), but later, Fishman (1972) expanded the term by including the use of two languages within the same area. Ferguson's distinction between High and Low variety refers both to the social and symbolic function of each variety in terms of prestige (Baker, 2006). As Bourdieu explains (1991: 55) 'speakers lacking the legitimate competence [in the High variety] are *de facto* excluded from the social domains in which this competence is required, or are condemned to silence'. Therefore, diglossia should be acknowledged not only linguistically in terms of syntax or phonological differences, but also socio-linguistically in terms of symbolic power, access to the linguistic market and distribution of cultural and symbolic capital.

The official languages of Cyprus are Standard Modern Greek and Turkish. However, the Greco-phone Cypriots mainly employ a spoken Greek variety, the Greek-Cypriot dialect. This dialect is further divided into town speech (urban Cypriot) and village Cypriot due to geographical parameters. The differences between the two varieties are both linguistic and socio-linguistic. The linguistic differences can be discerned on phonetic, phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon.

For instance, phonetically, the Cypriot dialect lacks [b], [d], [g] of Standard Greek, e.g. the word father in Greek is *παμπάς* [babas] and in Greek-Cypriot *παπάς* [papas] which in Greek means priest. In phonology, a common pattern is the *v* [n] at the end of some lexical items and the absence of some letters like *γ* [u] and *φ* [f]. For example, *εκκλησίαν* [hekklisian] instead of *εκκλησία* [hekklesia] (church) and *επήε* [hepie] instead of *πήγε* [pige] (went) (both words are also grammatically different). Moreover, a number of differences are related to the lexicon area. 'The differences are due to loans from different sources between the two varieties and literal translations from English' (Arvaniti, 2006:13). For instance, *μπάσο* [buso] (bus) has the loan of bus from English and the ending -ο from Greek. (For further analysis on this issue see Yiakoumetti, 2006 and Arvaniti, 2006).

Socio-linguistically, the two varieties enjoy different status, symbolic power and prestige. The standard variety is the official schooling language and it is used in all forms of formal writing and media. Respectively, Greek-Cypriot is acquired and used within the social interactions. This means that Standard Modern Greek is the legitimate and prestigious (both written/oral) variety while the Greek-Cypriot dialect is limited to an oral informal form.

As Arvaniti (2006: 6) argues on the issue of the two varieties,

‘the Cypriots use the term *kalamarizo*¹⁶ *speak like a person from Greece* to describe the linguistic behavior of Cypriots who try to speak Standard Greek in situations that call for Cypriot, a behavior that is considered pretentious and attracts ridicule’.

Therefore, the use of the two different varieties not only has a different value and prestige in the linguistic market, but can also infer issues of identification with the Greeks from mainland or the Greeks from Cyprus. This respectively can also be associated with the group’s or individual’s ethnic or political affiliation.

As for the implications that the dialect issue has for the current research, it should be noted that the majority of the students attending Greek community education in London, are of Greek-Cypriot origin. Therefore, the linguistic capital (minimal or not) that the students bring into school is that of Cypriot dialect as acquired within the family or the extended family. However, community education (books, exams, etc.) is designed according to the legitimate linguistic variety, thus Standard Modern Greek. This means that issues of bidialectism, along with bilingualism, need to be acknowledged in reference to the students’ linguistic and ethno-cultural identity. Moreover, issues of perceptions on dialect need to be addressed so as to explore further the ethno-political aspects of self-positions.

¹⁶Kalamaras, a derogatory term for mainland Greeks, literally means ‘person with quill/scribbler’; it is believed that Cypriots for Greeks first used it because the latter came to the island in the late 19th and early 20th c. as teachers. According to some, today’s pejorative sense of the word derives from the negative feelings that Cypriots developed towards Greeks after the 1974 Turkish invasion for which many hold the Greeks responsible (see also §1.1. in this chapter)(Papadakis, 2003) (cited in Arvaniti, 2006: 6).

Issues on Bilingual Identity

Karyolaimou (1987) argues that the Greek-Cypriots in the U.K. theoretically can draw their linguistic capital from a triptych that includes English, Greek and Greek-Cypriot. There are two significant studies that explore this linguistic triptych in relation to the Greek-Cypriot identity.

The former, by McEntee and Pouloukas (2001: 23) indicates that in Cyprus, 'the national codes (Greek and Greek-Cypriot) are dominant and are considered as markers of national identity and belonging...English is secondary and predominantly used by those with greatest socioeconomic standing'.

In view of these research findings, it will be interesting to explore whether the national codes enjoy a similar status in the U.K. where English is the dominant language. Especially in reference to identity, it will be challenging to study whether the Greek language is considered as a marker of identity and if so, how does the community value and negotiate aspects of the Greek linguistic identity.

The latter study, by Pavlou and Papapavlou (2001), is a quantitative research in the Greek-Cypriot community living in the U.K. The findings of this study suggest that this community shows a high rate of language maintenance. Similarly, they (2001: 105) argue that 'the Anglo Cypriots or English of Cypriot descent, prefer to think themselves first as Greek Cypriots, second as Greeks and third as Cypriots irrespective of the language'. Lastly, they conclude that 'these young people have a clear sense of identity and are not torn between two cultures' (ibid).

The findings of this project could be closely related to my study and present an interesting comparative case. Given the 'limitations of the survey methodology that they have used (reliance on self-reports rather observation/testing)' (ibid: 104) and the fact that the research has been conducted a decade ago, it will be

interesting to explore whether these findings are still consistent in relation to the community's perceptions and practices regarding language and identity.

Another issue that needs to be explored in reference to the community's bilingual identity is language maintenance, shift or loss; what Lambert (1975) defines as 'subtractive or additive' contexts. 'An additive bilingual situation is where the addition of a second language and culture is unlikely to replace or displace the first language and culture' (Lambert, 1980 cited in Baker, 2006: 74). However, Lambert stresses that the majority of the positive studies regarding additive bilingualism 'have involved bilingual students whose L1 was dominant and prestigious and in no danger of replacement by L2' (Cummins and Swain, 1986, p.18). On the contrary, where subtractive bilingual situations prevail, the minority group values, learns and develops the dominant language and culture at the expense of the heritage one. As Landry, Allard and Henry (1996: 446) suggest, 'this can lead to minority unilingualism, thus language loss and exclusive use of the majority group's language'. In both contexts the emphasis is on the concept of 'value', thus on the symbolic power that permeates the heritage and dominant languages.

The value and use of the two languages is not only related to the community's bilingual practices but also to their sense of linguistic identity. According to Li Wei's (2010) study on three Chinese youths in Britain, translanguaging and code switching is an integral part of bilingualism and bilingual identities and it is related to network socio-cultural practices. Language mixing is not only part of their linguistic identity but 'it also symbolizes who they are' (ibid: 9). Therefore, being bilingual is not only related to the person's ability to choose or live between two spoken languages. It also affects a number of socio-cultural variables that are engaged in the identity formation process, since the two languages could represent respectively the two cultures.

Moreover the students' bilingual identity could also be related to the students' learner self-positions. It should be acknowledged that the students attend both Greek community and British mainstream education. Through mainstream

education they often develop a monolingual learner identity or habitus that might be in conflict to the community's educational bilingual habitus. How do the students accommodate the two different educational systems; is their bilingual identity recognised and acknowledged in mainstream education or is it in conflict with the monolingual habitus?

As Delpit (1995:167) stresses,

'When a significant difference exists between the students' culture and the school's culture, teachers can easily misread students' aptitudes, intent, or abilities as a result of the difference in styles of language use and interactional patterns...when such cultural differences exist, teachers may utilize styles of instruction and/or discipline that are at odds with community norms'.

In this view, the question that emerges is whether community school students encounter similar difficulties while participating in two different educational systems.

In summary, there are a variety of issues that need to be acknowledged/explored in reference to the community's linguistic identity because language per se or language as a symbolic power might affect several self-positions. Language is a core variable in identity issues for two main reasons: it has a symbolic power and it is the medium of representation for the construction of identity. Therefore, it is a dimension of identity that needs to be explored in depth.

4.c. Social Class, Recognition and Identity

Language is also associated with the social class or the 'struggles over ethnic or regional identity' as Bourdieu (1991: 221) maintains. These struggles

'over the properties (stigmata or emblems) linked with the origin through the place of origin and its associated durable marks, such as accent- are a particular case of the different struggles over classifications, struggles over the monopoly of the power' (ibid).

This monopoly of the power is often reserved for the socially and economically dominant class who has a linguistic habitus that permits response 'with relative ease to the demands of most formal or official occasions' (Bourdieu, 1991: 21). But what is at stake here is the social mobility of those who may not be endowed with the dominant linguistic habitus.

The participants of this study, as stressed earlier, are Greek-Cypriots who moved to London as immigrants or refugees (Chapter 1 §3 Greek-Cypriot Immigration in the U.K.). This dimension of their identity, former immigrants, refugees and/or former colonised, raises issues of power that may be related to social class identity positions. For this reason now I turn the focus on the dimension of social class in an attempt to identify what implications this might have in reference to ethno-cultural identity. Social class will be analysed in reference to two key terms: capital and power.

The two main sociological traditions that have influenced the concept of social class are: Marxism who determines classes in terms of 'nature of exploitative production relations' and the

'Weberian tradition that views society as stratified in multiple ways- by income, education and political power/influence- and this stratification leads to the unequal distribution of economic resources and skills' (Lynch and Kaplan, 2000:15).

Buris (1987: 68) identifies four important distinctions between the two traditions: 'For Marx, classes are an expression of the social relations of production' (ibid), whereas 'Weber preferred to speak of *status groups*', (Erikson, 1983: 7). According to Marx there are three different classes: the capitalist class or bourgeoisie 'who own the means of production and buy other people's labour power; the petit-bourgeoisie, that also has means of production but does not employ others; and, the working class or proletariat who sell their labour to the capitalist class. (Eriksen, 1993: 6).

Bourdieu is building on these notions of class and capital, but as Thomson (1991: 30) argues, he does not define classes in Marxist terms. Instead, he uses classes as theoretical constructs that are not identical with real social groups.

‘While Bourdieu does not underestimate economic relations, he views the social world as a multi-dimensional space differentiated into fields; and within each field individuals occupy positions determined by the quantities of different types of capital they possess’ (Thomson, 1991: 29).

What seems to be of great magnitude for the current research is that all theories of social class ‘refer to systems of social ranking and distribution of power’ (Eriksen, 1993: 7).

Bourdieu identifies three types of capital where power is embedded: economic capital (wealth), cultural capital (knowledge and education) and symbolic capital (recognition and prestige). Each form of capital can be transformed into another and by this conversion it can be reproduced and maintained. This suggests that there is a respective reproduction/transformation of the embedded symbolic power that permeates each form of capital. Therefore, ‘the field is the site of struggles in which individuals seek to maintain or alter the distribution of the forms of capital specific to it’ (Thomson, 1991: 14).

Eriksen (1993: 7) argues that there might be a high correlation between ethnicity and class and ‘that there is a high likelihood that persons belonging to specific ethnic groups also belong to specific social classes’. This is very important for the current research as the participants belong to an ethnic minority community. Belonging to a minority community is often associated with a non-dominant or even dominated position within the social stratum. This may be attributed to the ‘language barrier’ as minority community members often lack the linguistic habitus that will permit access to higher forms of cultural capital. This respectively might result in deprivation from other forms of capital such as the symbolic and the economic. This circle of limited forms of capital is reproduced through the politics of equal opportunities, as these politics are unequal per se. In order to avoid the reproduction of inequalities and the

marginalisation of non-dominant groups the politics of equal opportunities need to be reconsidered through a combined approach of recognition and redistribution of power and wealth. This is what Fraser and Honeth (2003) describe as the two types of social justice claim.

Neelands (2007: 307) argues that, 'In Hegel's thesis, the formation of personal and social identity is an inter-subjective and dialogical process...the recognition of others is essential to the development of self-identity'. On the issue of recognition, Gutmann (1994: 8) stresses that 'public recognition as equal citizens requires respect for the unique identities of each individual'. 'Misrecognition or nonrecognition' (Taylor, 1994: 25) could affect negatively the self-perceptions of the minority community and this can result in a state of first and second-class citizens.

In summary, I would argue that though 'misrecognition does not directly entail maldistribution, surely contributes to the latter' (Fraser and Honeth, 2003: 53). Therefore, we need an approach that could accommodate cultural and linguistic differentiation so as to permit recognition and access to all different forms of capital. This recognition and redistribution will respectively permit social mobility to marginalised or minority groups.

As Fraser (1998: 1) proposes we need an integrative approach that will combine, 'an overarching conception of justice that can accomodate both defensible claims for social equality and defensible claims for the recognition of difference; and an approach that can accomodate the complex relations between interest and identity, economy and culture, class and status in contemporary globalizing capitalist society'.

In view of the above, the concept of social class along with the different forms of capital is another dimension of identity that needs to be acknowledged as it informs and is informed by the person's self-positions.

4.d. Religion, Power and Identity

Lastly, another dimension of identity that needs to be addressed is that related to religion. Within the context of the Greek society there is a close link between the secular and the religious. Fokas (2009: 349) argues that in the domain of religion there is a *Greek exceptionalism* due 'to the lack of full separation of church and state and to the prominent place of religion in society'. This *exceptionalism* could make Greek ethno-cultural identity a unique case to be explored as the religious and the ethnic identity often overlap. As mentioned in the first chapter (§1 & §5), Greek Orthodox religion is often treated as an embedded element of Greek identity both in mainland and diaspora. As such, it is often found -implicitly or explicitly- at the core of educational policy and curriculum documents. For instance, the place of religion is overtly articulated in Article 3 of the Greek constitution where it declares the Eastern Orthodox Church to be the "prevailing" religion in Greece.

Moreover, there are two main elements that suggest religion as a significant part of the Greek diasporic identity. The former is the educational policy documents that refer to community education. As stressed in these documents Greek community school life is organised around the aspect of religion through a number of religious festivals, rituals and religion-related lessons. The latter is associated with the close symbolic representation that connects Greek Orthodox Church and the Greek state; what earlier was termed as *Greek exceptionalism*. There is evidence of this exceptionalism within the diasporic context in various projects. For instance, Koutrelakos' (2004) findings on the acculturation of Greek immigrants in the US, suggest that language and religion played decisive roles in keeping strong sense of ethnic identity alive. Moreover, Fokas (2009: 355-6) argues that 'in certain diasporic contexts—Orthodox churches in the United States, for example—we see many churches operating as hubs of national identity for various diasporic communities'.

In view of the above elements, I could argue that Greek Orthodox religion might be also an integral part of Greek-Cypriot identity. Kunovich (2006: 437) identifies three processes by which religion informs national identity:

‘First, religion is an identity that can overlap with national identity. Second, religion reinforces other objective and subjective characteristics that promote a common national identity. Third, religion facilitates group mobilization’.

In the case of the Greek-Cypriot minority community the first and second processes seem more applicable, since there are no historical references for group mobilisation.

More explicitly, there are two official documents that refer to Greek minority communities and the relation between religious and ethnic identity:

- First, in Chapter 1: Article 1 of the Law 2413/1996,: ‘Diffusion of the Greek language, Greek Orthodox tradition and Greek culture to other countries’ (aims and provisions for the Greek education abroad, see Chapter 1, §1).
- Second: ‘The establishment of Greek schools in areas, in which Greek Orthodox Christians live as inhabitants’. (aims designed by the Greek and Greek-Cypriot educational offices in London, see Chapter 1, §5).

In both documents, there is a clear intervention of the state that aims at establishing or reproducing within the Greek diasporic communities a religious ideology related to Greek identity. The emphasis on the religious and ethnic identity may be attributed to historical reasons and the process of identity formation.

Historically, the Ottoman/Turkish community, which is a Muslim community, is often identified with the ‘eternal enemy’ or ‘the threat of the Other’. This is supported by Theodossopoulos’ findings, that the Turks are ‘the most representative ethnic Other in Greece’ (2007: 29). Moreover, Rumelili (2004: 18 & 11) drawing on Heraclides (2001) maintains that ‘the perception of threat from Turkey in Greece is sustained by the prevailing representation of the Turks as Asiatic, barbaric, and power-hungry, and by memories of oppression suffered during Ottoman rule’. Within this threatening context, the religious identity of

the Other is employed as means of differentiation, thus as means for constructing the ethnic identity.

Identities are often constructed within discourses of difference, 'they emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical, naturally constituted unity' (Hall, 200: 17). In this view, the overlapping of the Greek ethnic identity with the Greek Orthodox religious identity is an ideological mechanism that also serves the differentiation process between the Us and the eternal Other. As Kunovich (2006: 438) stresses, 'religious identity often overlaps with national identity because it provides one means of distinguishing in-groups from out-groups'.

This is also evident in national celebration narratives that emphasise the role of the Church in the establishment and/or maintenance of the Hellenic ethnos. For instance, for the celebration of 25th March (Greek War of Independence) the narratives employ Bishop Palaion Patron Germanos to bless the banner of independence.

According to Meselidis (2010:42) these narratives legitimised the Church power and

'solidified the Church's significance in Modern Greek national identity...added prestige to the Church, as a national institution, which had preserved the Greek people (ethnos), diachronically, against foreign invaders'.

Therefore, there is an ideology that maintains the Greek ethnic collective identity by inducing a symbolic representation of the Greek Orthodox Church as a concrete element that differentiates and protects the Greeks from the Other.

In this view, the ideologies of nation and religion are presented, as if membership to the Greek/Hellenic nation requires adherence to Orthodox Christianity. Throughout this process it should not be disregarded the power of

the Church through the power of the religious language and rituals. As Bourdieu, (1991: 72) asserts 'the weight of different agents depend on the symbolic capital, i.e. on the recognition, institutionalised or not, that they receive from a group' (e.g. the priest and his folk). The symbolic efficacy of the language and the rituals that the religious agent employs, 'reproduces the relationship of recognition, which is the basis of its authority' (Bourdieu, 1991: 73). Through this authority and symbolic power, religion may affect several aspects of individual and collective self-positions. It is as if the imagined community, thus the Greek nation, shares a common religious faith and its respective recognised and legitimised ideology.

Jones and Smith (2001) reveal in their study that the percentage of European respondents who regard religion as an integral part of national identity ranges from 3% (Netherlands) to 46% (Bulgaria). Moreover, Kunovich's study (2006: 452) demonstrates that 'Christianity is more salient for national identity in European countries with larger Muslim populations'. Based on these studies we could possibly infer that Christianity in the European Cyprus might be of great salience since the Other is a large Muslim Turkish-Cypriot population. This need might be accentuated within the multicultural-multireligious context of the U.K. where larger populations than that of the Greek-Cypriots, represent other religions. In summary, I could argue that the Greek-Cypriot community in London could possibly draw its symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) from the history of Greek Orthodoxy and by doing so it constructs a national identity that adheres to Greek Orthodox Hellenism.

Chapter 3

Greek National Celebration Theatre Performances

Abstract

The focus of the present research, as stressed earlier, is to explore the ways dual heritage participants negotiate aspects of their ethno-cultural self-positions through national celebration theatre performances within the context of a Greek Community School in London. In view of this focus, this chapter sets out to describe the theoretical perspective for both aspects: theatre in education and Greek national celebrations. Though theatre in education is not explicitly related to the current research, it is included theoretically as the theatre performances of the national celebrations are perceived as forms of ‘theatre in education’ within the Greek educational system. It should be acknowledged though that the terms theatre/drama in education within the Greek community schools in London are not associated with the prevailing forms of drama in education as employed and applied in other educational settings. As I will explain later, drama is mainly employed as a performing institutionalised medium that often serves the production of ideological representations through ritualised performances. However, since the national celebrations mainly include one or more theatre performances I provide the relevant theoretical background. My discussion proceeds in three parts. In the first section I discuss key issues on theatre/drama in education. In section two I present the complexities of the field and I conceptualise Greek national celebrations as historical and socio-political events. Lastly, in section three, I turn the focus on implicit and explicit dynamics of power, ideology and hegemony that are embedded in national celebrations.

1. Drama and Theatre in Education: Pedagogy and Tensions

The words theatre and drama are often used interchangeably but historically and literally refer to different things. The word *theatre* or θέατρον [*theatron*] derives from the ancient Greek verb θεώμαι [*theomai*] which means *to view, to see*. Theatron refers to ‘The seeing-place. The auditorium for spectators’ (McDonald & Walton, 2009: 337). Respectively, the theatre is the place where we

see the '*drama*' but today drama also 'refers to the actual performance of a piece of dramatic literature' (Neelands & Dobson, 2000: 1). *Drama* originates from the ancient Greek verb *δρῶ* [dro] or 'from the verb dran, act, do' (Martin 2009:36), it means *I take action* and 'it is usually reserved for the body of written works we call dramatic literature' (Neelands & Dobson, *ibid*). In Aristotle's *Poetics* the definition of tragedy maintains: *Tragedy is a representation (mimesis), not of people, but of an action (praxis)*. In this view, as Martin (2009:36) stresses, 'tragedy – and, we might say, drama as a whole – is primarily about action'. Therefore, the word drama refers both to the action: 'to do' and the 'written text of a play' (Leach, 2008: 197). In summary, in theatre or *theatron* we see the 'actions of imaginatively created persons; not only through their physical actions but, through the spoken word and through the borrowed arts of music and dance, actions of their minds, their passions, their spirits' (Nichols, 1956:179).

In that ancient form of drama we can possibly trace the origins of pedagogy that lead to contemporary drama/theatre in education. Ancient drama was considered an educational experience both for the performers and the audience. The performers were *taught* the *drama* by the playwright. As Leach notes (2008: 132), 'the word *wright* means *maker*, and certainly in ancient Greece the play was not considered made until the performance was over'. For this reason, the playwright was called *διδάσκαλος* (*didaskalos*), 'literally teacher or instructor, a role that falls somewhere between author and director' (Dutta, 2007: 16). Therefore, the teacher-playwright taught the drama and the product of this learning experience was performed in the theatre. Moreover, for the audience it was also considered an invaluable pedagogical experience and for this reason the democracy of Ancient Athens has approved the *θεωρικά*¹⁷ [*theorica*]: free theatre tickets for free Athenian citizens who could not afford to attend the festivals. According to Fischer-Lichte (2002: 9) it was not the pedagogical character of drama that called for the payment of a *theorikon* to every spectator, but

¹⁷ *Theorica* is often found in the literature as 'theoric fund' or 'festival fund' (see Harris, 2006; Roselli, 2009, et. Al.) and it means 'drachma for the spectacle or seat' (Roselli, 2009: 13).

‘attending a performance was considered to be the public duty of the citizen towards the polis’.

Since then and the first recorded book that attempted to define drama, Aristotle’s *Poetics*, drama has been evolving, has been explored and has been approached in a variety of performing and/or pedagogical ways- what Schechner (2002: 71) calls ‘the efficacy-entertainment dyad’. Out of this dyad, one of the forms of drama that has evolved is what is often found in the literature as drama/theatre in education. However, drama within the educational curriculum has provoked a polemic debate that argues for dichotomies between ‘drama as service’ or drama as subject’ (O’Toole, 1992: 55); drama as an art theatre craft or drama as a learning medium; drama curriculum or process drama (Neelands, 2000). However, as Neelands (2009: 173) argues, ‘the importance of drama in schools is in the processes of social and artistic engagement and experiencing of drama rather than in its outcomes’. In this view, drama can overcome both polemics and dichotomies if approached as a ‘lived experience’ (Neelands, 2000) that integrates the teachers’ and students’ ‘knowledge from the entire spectrum of learning experiences in meaningful contexts’ (Neelands, 2009: 177).

Within the Greek educational system, there were no similar debates as the form of drama that prevailed for decades in the school auditoriums was ‘theatre performances in education’. What Bolton describes as ‘Young children taking responsibility for entertaining adults’ (in Davis (ed.), 2010: 113). As Sextou (2002) argues the form of Greek Drama in Education may not be identified with the one that prevails in other countries, such as the United Kingdom. In Greece

‘theatre in education is practised in the classroom by the general teacher and includes theatre playing (theatre games), dramatisation of narratives, school plays and visits by drama and theatre professionals’ (Sextou, 2002: 123).

Drama within the Greek educational setting is mainly employed as a performing medium while celebrating religious and/or national days.

Drawing on Apple's and Bourdieu's theories on the reproduction of ideology through institutions, I could characterise this form of drama as institutionalised drama. More explicitly, Apple argues for a school role that reproduces cultural and economic inequalities. He emphasises what Gramsci noted on schools as mechanisms of cultural distribution: 'a critical element in enhancing the ideological dominance of certain classes is the control of the knowledge preserving and producing institutions of a particular society' (1990: 26). In a similar way, Bourdieu (1977), through his concept on 'symbolic violence' maintains that symbolic violence is exerted whenever any power imposes meanings as legitimate without disclosing the power relations that permeate these meanings. This form of violence that characterises pedagogy is 'never more total than when totally unconscious' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977: 13).

In this view, a form of drama/theatre in education that is devoid of creativity and strictly orientated towards the product/performance sets limits to the students' agency on artistic expression and knowledge. Moreover, a form of drama that is mainly employed to serve national or religious narratives (e.g. national and Christmas celebration theatre performances) conceals the power relations that are embedded within the institutional ideologies and thus may be characterised as a form of symbolic violence. Lastly, this form of drama/theatre in education is more identified with the representational form of drama that encourages identification without eliciting a critical stance and a desire of change. This form of representation is in line with Stanislavski's theatre and 'according to Brecht, it produces a passive, accepting, uncritical attitude to the audience' (Neelands & Dobson, 2001: 68). This uncritical stance permits unquestionable acceptance and respective reproduction of the imposed represented ideologies. In summary, I argue that the representational form of theatre in education that prevails within the Greek educational institutions and it is employed for the national celebrations could be described as a mechanism that legitimises and reproduces hegemonic ideologies.

2. Complexities of the field

My interest in these national celebrations dates back many years, when, as a young student I practised for weeks in preparation for participation in the school parade and theatre play on the occasion of OXI day or 25th March (two major Greek National Days that are celebrated through school and public ceremonies, such as military and school parades). I can still remember the school hall being decorated with Greek flags, posters of heros/heroines and images that exerted the unselfish sacrifice of 'our soldiers'. These symbols, still used in schools, 'condense a relationship between a signifier, a signified and a referent' (Coombe 1996, 207); linking the image to the celebration and the national ideology.

Surprisingly, and despite my teachers' efforts in explaining repeatedly the content and context of these celebrations, it took my classmates and me many years to decode and comprehend the historical events and the symbolic representations that these ceremonies embrace. Though, we were confused on what exactly we were celebrating and who was the 'enemy' of each war, I still remember that both participants and spectators, performers and observants, ceremoniously celebrated and enjoyed these days as something natural and familiar.

Later, in my career as a primary school teacher in Greece, I was confronted with the following problem: how to teach these historical events? As Grumet (2008: 138) suggests 'teaching displays our relation to the world and invites students to become engaged with the object of our intention'. However, this invitation and engagement involved several historical, political and pedagogical dilemmas. Regarding the historical aspect, the students (as myself at their age) struggled to remember and distinguish the 'celebratory war and enemy' of each national day. As regards the compulsory character, it was not questioned; these national days were already established as part of their 'cultural capital, thus part of their knowledge, skills or other cultural acquisitions' (Bourdieu 1991, 14). But it was not my intention to maintain, impose or reproduce the natural and familiar impetus of these national celebrations with my students. What and where were the limits of the agency that I had as an educator to distance my students from

nationalistic expressions that were imposed as natural and legitimate? Self-reflexive practices called for a re-evaluation of educational practices related to national ideologies, rituals and celebrations.

As I will explicitly argue later, the ceremonies for the national celebrations function as a hegemonic ideology produced and established as legitimate through the educational system. It is an encoded cultural practice often imposed by the educational institutions. Therefore, these celebrations were part of my students' habitus; of their collective memory and identity; and were legitimised through the political and educational system. As Bourdieu (1991: 62) argues, 'the sociology of culture, language and education are inseparable'. Therefore the social mechanisms of cultural transmission are supported by the educational system that reproduces and legitimises initial cultural disparities.

My initial dilemmas and tensions increased when I moved to London as a community schoolteacher. My British-born students of Greek-Cypriot origin do not share the same characteristics as my students in Greece. They are born and raised within a multiethnic dominant environment that is differentiated from the mono-ethnic Greek or to the dual-ethnic Greek-Cypriot. They come from another educational system that produces or imposes different cultural representations, norms and practices. Therefore, they are exposed to a different public/collective memory celebrated through different symbolic ceremonies. However, when these students come to the Greek community school they are subjected to a different ideology and different (or even alien) cultural representations than the ones they experience within the dominant English environment.

In this view, these students amalgamate their knowledge and identity by synthesising cultural funds of knowledge from two (or even more) sources: the Greek (monoethnic or dualethnic if Greek-Cypriot) and the dominant British (multiethnic). Moll et al. (1992) propose that the students' 'funds of knowledge' are not limited to the education that they receive through formal schooling. Instead, they suggest that there is an accumulated knowledge that the students gain from the family and the cultural backgrounds. This involves the syncretizing

of knowledge and experience, 'a creative process in which people reinvent culture as they draw on diverse resources' (Gregory et al. 2007, 11).

The plurality and complexity of syncretised funds of knowledge suggest that community school students might not accept unquestionably the compulsory participation in the ceremonies of Greek national celebrations. As Apple (1996, xvi) proposes, 'schooling never was simply an imposition on supposedly politically/culturally inept people ...rather it was the result of struggles over what would count as legitimate knowledge'. Moreover, it implies that the implicit and explicit representations of Greek national celebrations will be much more complicated for dual heritage students of Greek diasporic communities, since they are not familiar with the complex historical and political events that are associated with these celebrations. It should also be acknowledged that there is a time and spacial gap that mediates and differentiates the experiences of diasporic communities comparing to the respective experiences of natives in their homeland. To this gap it may be attributed the naturalisation process of national celebrations in homeland and the denaturalisation effect in diaspora. The complexities that stem from the bilingual/bicultural character of community education along with this gap, demand greater effort from the students so as to accept the hidden ideologies and representations that are rooted in these ceremonies.

There also emerges the process of 'denaturalisation' for both students and educators; a process where more interpretations are explored than the self-evident or the imposed.

As Foucault (in Kritzman 1988: 155) argues,

'to show that things are not as self-evident as one believed, to see that which is accepted as self-evident will no longer be accepted as such...since as soon as one can no longer think things as one formerly thought them, transformation becomes both very urgent, very difficult and quite possible'.

Prior to exploring the transformation or negotiation that the students experience, I should also acknowledge the transformation of the teacher/researcher. This is another complexity of the fieldwork that entails dimensions of my personal identity and cultural background.

Given the social construction of knowledge and the recognition that the curriculum and educational system are culturally based and encoded, I would argue that my status and viewpoint as a teacher/researcher (mainly educated in Greece) are informed by that system. This suggests that some of the national representations and ideologies that I hold and accept are perceived as self-evident and natural. My dual role as teacher and researcher calls for a denaturalisation of my self-perceptions and positions. Constant reflection will permit me to 'recover the history of my relation to the object to be known' (Grumet et al., 2008, 139). This process is close to what Brecht calls 'Verfremdung' or 'A-effect' (alienation effect). This is

'a technique of taking the human social incidents to be portrayed and labelling them as something striking, something that calls for explanation, is not to be taken for granted, not just natural. The object of this 'effect' is to allow the spectator to criticise constructively from a social point of view' (Brecht, 1961: 125).

So, by taking the viewpoint of the spectator I need to 'raise above the level of the obvious and automatic' (Brecht, 1936, 92); above the naturalised character of national celebrations. As Jameson argues, Brecht alerts us and intends to make us aware that 'the objects and institutions you thought to be natural were really only historical' (1972: 58). But what is historical and how historically truthful are the celebrations that are commemorated within schools? As I will argue in the following section there is a selective process instilled in historical and national celebrations that aims at reproducing hegemonic ideologies that serve political and/or economical interests and power positions.

In view of the above elements and in order to gain insight into aspects of students' identity and self-positions, I need to study the interconnections

between the ideology of national celebrations and the community school curriculum. However, the study of the curriculum is a

‘complex, layered and enacted phenomenon to be studied and understood and it has at least three strands: curriculum as a cultural object (with a social history, anchored in ideology and nested in layers of meaning that call for clarification and interpretation); curriculum as an event that happens in schools; and curriculum in the perspective of the researcher’ (Grumet et al., 2008: 138).

Given that I have been schooled, as a teacher and researcher, within this curriculum, thus I am ‘saturated and shaped’ (ibid: 138) by the same curriculum I study, it is required to denaturalise the object to be studied; defamiliarise myself and ‘recapitulate my own history and experience’ (ibid: 138). Furthermore, I ‘need to examine critically why and how particular aspects of collective culture are presented in school as objective, factual knowledge; and how regularities of the school contribute to students learning these ideologies?’ (Apple, 1990: 14).

3. Greek National Celebrations within the Greek community schools in London

Prior to presenting these celebrations, I need to explicate the term National Celebrations. In this project it is used to denote the ceremonial celebration of historic National Days that are recognised as such by the state calendar and school curriculum. In the literature one can also find the term ‘ethnic celebrations’ (Williams 2005; Meleis, 1996, etc) with an emphasis on the cultural and religious ceremonies of an ethnic group.

I could have used this term as it sounds closer to the Greek equivalent term *Ethnikes Yiortes* (*Εθνικές Γιορτές*) but the word *ethnos* in Greek is closer translated to Nation (see also Chapter 2§3) which is the emphasis of these celebrations. What needs to be reminded is that within the Greek mono-ethnic context the terms ethnic and nation often overlap. Greek ethnicity is often congruent with Greek nationality within the mainland of Greece (some

exceptions may be found in Thrace's Muslim minority communities). On the contrary, in dual-ethnic Cyprus, ethnicity and nationality are marked through differentiation between Greek-Orthodox-Cypriots and Turkish-Muslim-Cypriots. Despite minor differences that may be detected within the two contexts, both terms 'ethnic' and 'national' are highly valued both in Cyprus and Greece. More often we found the term Hellenic Ethnos as a big umbrella inclusive term that embraces all Christian Orthodox Greeks, irrespective of geographical and spatial positions. In the Hellenic ethnos belong all Greeks by virtue of their Greek origin irrespective of their nationality. At the same time 'Hellenic Ethnos' may also be used exclusively to denote the Other/Strange who may not or cannot be identified with the historical, religious and/or cultural variables of Hellenism.

Another clarification that needs to be made is the concept of National Day. In some European countries, such as the U.K., National Days include religious (Christmas Day) and/or other public holidays (Bank Holiday). In Greece, National Days refer to a designated date that marks the Hellenic Nationhood or a historically significant national war that maintained the sovereignty of the Hellenic Nation. Therefore, the main focus of Greek National Celebrations is on the concept of the Hellenic nation, but sometimes also integrate religious and cultural aspects.

In Greek community schools in London the commemorated National Celebrations are the following: the 28th October 1940 (Greco-Italian war); the 25th March 1821 (Greek Independence Revolution against the Ottoman rule); and 1st April 1955 (Greek-Cypriot EOKA fight against the British Colonial rule). A form of selectivity appears in two elements: on what the schools choose to celebrate and on the way they present it. This selectivity is associated with the concept of collective memory and it is in line with what Williams (1972) defines as 'selective tradition'.

As regards the concept of collective memory it is linked to the notion of state/nation and respectively to the building of a collective national identity.

Assmann and Czaplicka (1995: 130) argue that, collective cultural memory 'preserves the store of knowledge from which a group derives an awareness of its unity and peculiarity. The objective manifestations of cultural memory are defined through a kind of identificatory determination in a positive ("We are this") or in a negative ("That's our opposite") sense'; thus, in an inclusive or exclusive way.

However, there is a selective process that mediates the lived experience and the memory of that experience. Williams (1980: 39) calls that process 'selective tradition' and he describes it as follows:

'There is a process which I call the selective tradition: that which, within the terms of an effective dominant culture, is always passed off as *the tradition*, the significant past. But always the selectivity is the point; the way in which from a whole possible area of past and present, certain meanings and practices are chosen for emphasis, certain other meanings and practices are neglected and excluded...some are reinterpreted, diluted or put into forms which support or at least do not contradict other elements within the effective dominant culture'

Greek National Celebrations have this element of 'selective tradition' in two domains: reinterpretation and exclusion. As regards the former, the example of the National Day of 28th October is quite representative. More explicitly, on the 28th October, Greeks celebrate a victorious fight over the Italian invasion in 1940. Despite the fact that the Greco-Italian war ended successfully for Greece-only in relation to Italy-, a few days later the Greek army of Epirus surrendered to the Germans. The 28th October (often referred as 'Oxi Day'- *Ημέρα του Όχι*) is a celebration of the Greek fight and resistance against the Italian army. Όχι means No and refers to the negative response that the Greek dictator Ioannis Metaxas gave to the Italian ultimatum demanding occupation of Greek territory. It could be argued that this celebration focuses selectively only on the success that the Greek army achieved against Italy and not on the German Nazi invasion that resulted in the death from starvation of at least 300.000 Athenians and thousands of other Greeks (Hionidou, 2006; Mazower, 1994).

There is another aspect of selectivity that appears in the 28th October. That is the role of the Greek Prime Minister Ioannis Metaxas (see also later discussion §4) who said the later glorified 'OXI' and denied access to the Italian army. Metaxas was a dictator but the character of his authoritarian regime is excluded from the ceremonial narratives of this National Celebration. This exclusion serves the 'patriotic' character of 'OXI' and therefore does not contradict the celebratory character of the Greek victory.

Another element of 'selectivity as exclusion' can be found in the commemoration of the anniversary of 17th November. In 21st April 1967, when tanks were brought into the streets of Athens, democracy was suspended in Greece by the intervention of the Armed Forces (Kassimeris, 2006: 64). The 1967 coup resulted in a seven-year military rule often referred to as the period of 'Papadopoulos's Dictatorship', 'The Junta' or 'The Regime of the Colonels'. Papadopoulos declared a martial law, the violation of which resulted in exile and imprisonment of thousands of people (Clogg and Yannopoulos, 1972). Small and large-scale manifestations of resistance were organised and escalated in 17th November 1973 'when about 3.000 Polytechnic School students rallied with the open support of thousands of Athenians. Junta responded with tanks that turned the protest into a blood bath' (Haritos-Fatouros, 2003: 28). Papadopoulos was removed from power and the rule of Junta ended a few months later (as I will discuss explicitly later) with the attempted assassination of Archbishop Makarios in Cyprus.

Two aspects of selectivity emerge in reference to this historical event. Formerly, I need to stress that in Greece it is the only National Day that is titled 'Anniversary' (of the Polytechnic School or of 17th November) and not 'Celebration'. Moreover, in the Greek community schools in London, the curriculum does not include or commemorate it as a national day. Therefore, Greek state education reinterprets the notion of National Days by creating two categories: celebrations and anniversaries. Similarly, community education discards selectively these historical events that may jeopardise or dislocate the

Hellenic collective character of the diasporic community; thus jeopardise the creation of an effective dominant culture. This process of selectivity is strongly associated with the efficacious character of education regarding the legitimisation of hegemonic ideologies because 'the educational institutions are the main agencies of the transmission of an effective dominant culture' (Williams, 1980: 39).

Two arguments could explain the selective reinterpretation and exclusion of the historical events of 17th November. The first one is associated with the concepts of 'alterity' and 'Other'. 'In Hegel's thesis, the formation of personal and social identity is an inter-subjective and dialogical process. One recognises oneself only by virtue of recognising, and being recognized by, another subject' (Neelands, 2007: 307). This other subject in Levinas' terms is the alter and its center lies both inside and outside us. It is 'my being interpellated by the other' (Critchley and Bernasconi, 2002: 67) that determines the socially constructed identity positions that someone takes. However, the differences and similarities that permeate the continuum between the self and the other define whether the subject will identify with the other or will categorise it as something different.

In collective identity positions (such as national identities), when the difference of the other jeopardises the sovereignty of the group, the notion of alterity takes a hostile character. Thus, the Other is recognised as an enemy and as such it can provoke actions and feelings against the Other, and/or unity within the in-group members. Lev-Aladgem (2010, 141) argues that the element of the 'Other' is a psychological component in the repertoire of those in conflict and it involves 'emotional orientation such as fear, anger and hatred toward the opponent'. The hostile or unknown Other provokes fear and anxiety that collectivity will be lost or changed into something unfamiliar. As Castoriadis (1990: 53-54) maintains on this issue, this is 'the fear, which is in fact quite justified, that everything, even meaning, will dissolve'.

In the aforementioned examples, the attributes of the Other define whether the selective tradition will include or exclude the historical events from the

collective memory. More specifically, in the events of the 28th October the Other is an out-group alterity, a foreign opponent, and for this reason it is considered legitimate to 'celebrate' the victorious war against the Italian enemy. It is an element that can promote unity and pride within the in-group members' collective national identity. It unites them against the danger of the external, alien Other.

However, in the case of 17th November, within the dichotomised Nation the Other is an in-group member. Despite dichotomy, both opposing groups shared the same fundamental characteristics of the effective dominant culture (language, religion, ethnicity, etc). Therefore, in this case there is no clear classification of the Other as enemy. Moreover, issues such as in-group enemies and abolishment of democracy do not promote unity and pride within the members of the national community. This results in the 'commemoration' or 'anniversary' of 17th November and not in the 'celebration'.

In summary of the above, I would argue that in reference to the historical events of 17th November there are two different educational practices that serve 'selective tradition'. The former is that Greek state education (in Greece) resorts to 'selective reinterpretation' and titles this National Day 'anniversary' instead of 'celebration'. The latter is that Greek community education (in London) resorts to 'selective exclusion' and abolishes the reference of this National Day from the school curriculum. What could possibly reason this selectivity is grounded in historical reasons that may be questioned. As I mentioned earlier, two historical actions resulted in the restoration of democracy after the 7 years of military Junta: the events of 17th November and the attempted assassination of the Cypriot President Makarios. This latter event could possibly be associated with this selective exclusion.

More explicitly, in 1955 a national struggle against British colonial policies started with EOKA (National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters) (Knapp & Antoniadou, 2002: 22) with the demand for Enosis (Union of Cyprus with the Greek motherland) (Stern, 1975: 34) (see also Chapter 2 §4.a Historical

Background). In 1960 it is the foundation of the Republic of Cyprus with Archbishop Makarios as president. In 1971 General George Grivas and his supporters form an ancestor of EOKA that is often found in the literature as EOKA B (Papadakis, 1999; 1995). As Knapp and Antoniadou (2002: 23) suggest, 'with the support of Greek military junta, Grivas set up EOKA B, a para-state terrorist organisation, whose primary target was Makarios and whose chief intention was to overthrow the government'. This is also supported by Markides and Cohn (1982, 90), who argue, 'the underground groups unified under EOKA-B joined with the Greek-led National Guard to overthrow the government'. In 1974, EOKA B launched a military coup d'état so as to kill Makarios. Makarios escaped but the result was political destabilisations that lead five days later to the Turkish military invasion.

In view of these political and historical events, the questionable role of Junta in the foundation of EOKA B and coup of 1974 could be the reason for a selective exclusion of 17th November anniversary. Given that the majority of the Greek school population in London is of Greek-Cypriot origin, this selective abolishment is not unanticipated. The presentation of the historical era of Junta could raise political issues between the members of the community and issues of affiliation to the greater Hellenic community. Therefore, Greek community institutions in London select to exclude historical events that could make the unity of the community vulnerable.

In summary, I would argue that Greek National celebrations are treated as elements of the effective dominant culture that is produced and transmitted through educational institutions. In order for the dominant culture to be effective and hegemonic, a process of 'selective tradition' is employed. Examples of this selectivity were given through the Greek national celebrations of 28th October and 17th November. The result of this selectivity is a legitimate distilled symbolic representation that produces and reproduces hegemonic ideologies.

In Habermas' thesis ideologies are described as

‘false ideas and beliefs about itself that society somehow systematically manages to induce people to hold...Moreover, ideologies are functional false beliefs, which, not least because they are so widespread, serve to shore up certain social institutions and the relations of domination they support’ (Finlayson, 2005: 11).

Institutions are described by Castoriadis (1994) as ‘social imaginary significations, and systems of meaning and representation which organize natural worlds and establish ways people are socialised’ (Watts and Peet, 1996: 267) Gramsci emphasises the concept of domination that permeates societies and their institutions and he defines it as hegemony.

Gramsci argued that two elements define ideological hegemony and can help us understand the idea of hegemonic relations: the hegemonic structures and the intellectuals who legitimise them.

‘It is not merely that our economic order *creates* categories and structures of feeling which saturate our everyday lives. Added to this must be a group of *intellectuals* who employ and give legitimacy to the categories, who make the ideological forms seem neutral’ (Apple, 1990: 11).

Educational institutions and respectively the educators as intellectuals often legitimise and reproduce hegemonic structures. For this reason Williams (1980: 37) argues that hegemony is stronger than ideology: ‘For if ideology were merely some abstract, imposed set of notion...then the society would be very much easier to move and to change than in practice it has ever been or is’.

In view of the above arguments, hegemonic ideologies saturate the economic, social and cultural structures of the society and emphasise domination. This domination is expressed through an ‘effective dominant culture’ (Williams, *ibid*), which is communicated, produced and reproduced from the educational institutions. Therefore, as Apple (1990: 15) suggests, ‘we must study schools as institutions that *process knowledge* and serve an ideological function’.

After having presented the terms 'hegemony', 'ideology' and the transmitting (often selective) role of education on 'hegemonic ideologies', now I turn the focus on the struggles that are embedded and often conveyed through Greek National Celebrations.

4. Greek National Celebrations as struggles over recognition and redistribution of power and wealth

In this section I will argue that Greek National Days could be defined as the commemoration of a 'selectively' successful resistance: a fight/war/struggle against military, totalitarian, colonial or occupational dominant power forces. This resistance often stems from a 'struggle over recognition and distribution' (Tully, 2000) of marginalised groups who suffer inequities of access to resources and/or power. 'A struggle over recognition irrupts whenever some of the individuals or groups subject to a prevailing norm of mutual recognition experience it as unbearable' (Tully 2007: 89).

A 'successful' resistance is often commemorated as a National Day that resulted in either freedom or independence (in some respect maybe both), thus either liberated or created a nation. This struggle over recognition is not limited to the Greek case but can be found in a number of other National Days, such as the American Independence Day; The Mexican Independence Day (the war between the Mexicans and the Spanish colonial authorities 1810-1821); the French Bastille Day (1789) etc. However, as it will be argued later, National Days are often established and commemorated so as to reproduce a hegemonic ideology that will induce ideas and beliefs that serve the effective dominant culture. National Days may be celebrated through hegemonic ritualised performances (e.g. military and school parades), which confirm membership to the natural order of power. These national secular rituals, similar to religious rituals (Mass or Liturgies), are codified performances 'consist of sequences of publicly performed symbolic behavior expressing meanings shared by both the performers and the receivers' (Schechner, 2002: 163).

The fights of resistance are often grounded in unequal distribution of wealth and power and it is usually the former (lack of wealth) that motivates people to resist

to the latter (lack of power). Thus, the ideology of resistance has its roots in inequalities of economic capital (limited access to resources) but it is often manipulated and organised on grounds of cultural and symbolic capital (ideals of freedom, democracy, country). It is a resistance to a political, social and economical status quo.

More explicitly, struggles over recognition are often intertwined with struggles over distribution. Both struggles occur when socio-economic and/or cultural/symbolic injustices prevail in the social structures.

As Fraser (in Olson (ed.) 2008: 14) argues:

‘socioeconomic injustice is rooted in the political-economic structure of society and includes exploitation, economic marginalisation and deprivation. ...Cultural or symbolic injustice is rooted in social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication and includes cultural domination, nonrecognition and disrespect’.

In view of Fraser’s argument, socioeconomic injustice calls for redistribution; and cultural/symbolic injustice for recognition. However, there are cases where marginalised groups might be deprived from both culture and wealth, so they might demand both redistribution and recognition. Fraser suggests there are two kinds of remedies that could correct the socioeconomic and cultural inequities: affirmative and transformative remedies. The former remedies aim at ‘social arrangements without disturbing the underlying framework that generates them’ (ibid, 28). In contrast the latter, aim at corrections ‘by deconstructing the generative framework’ (ibid, 28). These remedies have a direct impact on group identities. Thus, affirmative remedies leave the content and the demarcation of identity intact. On the contrary, transformative remedies deconstruct identity and ‘change everyone’s sense of belonging, affiliation and self’ (ibid: 29).

Similar struggles over recognition and redistribution are embedded within the Greek National celebrations and bear strong implications for collective group identity. More explicitly, in the case of 28th October 1940, the threatened and

marginalised group are the Greeks. The threat comes from the external Italian Other (and later from the German Nazis) who invades Greece and destabilises the social order, the economy and the politics. The civilians experience cultural domination by the external invader that results in symbolic injustice that calls for a struggle over recognition. This struggle is expressed through the defensive Greco-Italian war: an act of resistance. This resistance could be described as the remedy that deconstructed partly the generative framework of injustice while leaving intact the content of group identity. I argue about a 'part deconstruction' because the Italian invasion was not the only generative source of injustice.

Prior to the Greco-Italian war, in 1936 the Greeks experience in parallel other forms of symbolic injustice due to internal democratic destabilisation. The dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas is another form of symbolic injustice that demands further struggles over recognition. Metaxas' regime (1936-1941) 'is considered a hostile period by the average contemporary Greek and Metaxas himself a controversial and unpopular figure' (Petrakis, 2006: 2). However, these struggles are getting more complicated because after the death of Metaxas (1941) and the Greco-Italian war, the Germans occupy Greece.

During World War II, the Axis occupation until 1944 (referred as *Κατοχή* [*Katochi*], meaning "The Occupation") entails relentless economic exploitation, famine and atrocities (Hionidou, 2006). During that period the Greeks experience both forms of injustice: socioeconomical and cultural. They are deprived from economical resources; they suffer exploitation and they live on the margins of their own country. Evident of the symbolic propaganda and injustice is that Greek National Cultural symbols, such as the flag, are removed and replaced by the Nazi flag or swastika. Evidence of the economic injustice is that thousands of Greeks died of famine (Mazower, 1994).

As Maratzidis and Antoniou (2004: 223) stress,

'Greece was about to go through its worst crisis, at least in the 20th century. The famine, the reprisals, the holocaust of the Jewish population and the internal conflict of the Greek people were only some of consequences of the

harsh Axis occupation (1941-44) and the civil war that followed (1946-49) - events that resulted in hundreds of thousands of deceased, displaced and homeless people'.

These socioeconomical and symbolic inequities resulted in limited access to wealth and power; there were of course exceptions of Nazi sympathizers, collaborators and anti-Semites who enjoyed the privileges of their affiliation to the Nazis by having better access to power and wealth. During the Civil War many collaborators were exemplary punished and assassinated (Mazower, 1999). However, for the majority of the population this limited access resulted in several forms of resistance: political, ideological and armed. With the establishment of '*Εθνική Αντίσταση*' (*ethniki antistasi*-National Resistance) a new era of struggle over recognition and distribution began that was so 'transformative' (Fraser in Olson (ed.) 2008: 29) that affected the group's 'sense of belonging and affiliation' (Fraser, *ibid*). Indicative of the transformative effect of this struggle is that these acts of resistance functioned as the prelude to the Greek civil war (1946-1949) (Woodhouse 1976; Marantzidis & Antoniou, 2004).

In view of the historical context that precedes and follows the resistance acts of the 28th October, I would argue that the element of struggle is embedded in this celebration. However, two elements emerge from the struggles over recognition and distribution of that era. The former is that the struggles that aimed at correcting the initial socioeconomic and symbolic inequities led to further struggles. For these further struggles transformative remedies were employed, which finally deconstructed and restructured the underlying framework (after the end of the civil war).

The second element that has already been discussed in the previous section is that of the selective tradition. The aspect of selectivity comes even stronger if we see the historical events of the 28th October from a holistic perspective that encompasses the before and the after. Therefore, the National Day of 28th October may be presented ideologically as a successful act of resistance and struggle, but the 'glorious' and 'successful' aspect is questionable given the further struggles

and inequities that followed 1940. Karakasidou (2000) argues that the Greek government established 28th October as a National Celebration orchestrated through patriotic pageants so as to instill a conservative national identity after the two wars (WW II and Civil war). Her analysis shows how the state employed symbolic narratives to propagate patriotism and to discredit conflicting political values. Therefore, the establishment of this celebration is strongly associated with state hegemonic ideologies that are rooted in selectivity and propaganda.

Similar patterns of struggle over recognition/distribution along with selectivity are also present in the Greek Independence fight of 25th March and the Greek-Cypriot anti-colonial fight of 1st April. Therefore, it could be argued that the struggles that are embedded in the National Celebration narratives are selective so as to induce hegemonic ideologies that serve the effective dominant culture. The reproduction of these ideas/beliefs through the educational institutions legitimises the ideological hegemony and instills a habitus that maintains the social, political and cultural status quo of the nation. It is a nationalistic ideology that can take different forms depending on the interests that it serves.

National celebrations, like cenotaphs and tombs of Unknown soldiers are 'arresting emblems of the modern culture of nationalism' (Anderson, 2006: 9). The role of national celebrations could be identified with forms of ethnic nationalism that emphasise the sharing of a common culture between the members of an ethnic group and with their ancestors. 'An historical dimension of ethnic nationalism, basic to nation formation, are processes of exclusion and the construction of an other or others as foreign or alien to the national self' (Colley, 1992 cited in Brett and Moran, 2011: 189). This 'monological' form of nationalism contradicts 'dialogical' cosmopolitan nationalism in the sense that the former is more hostile and less open to different ethnic groups.

Especially in dual-ethnic Cyprus, ethnic nationalism either takes the form of attachment to motherlands (Greece and Turkey respectively) or progresses as a more vague 'Cypriot nationalism'. Loizides (2007: 172) suggests that 'the major focus of identity of Cypriots is identification with their respective ethnic

communities in the form of Greek Cypriotism or Turkish Cypriotism'. This type of nationalism is close to diasporic nationalism or 'long-distance nationalism' as Anderson (1992) terms it. This kind of nationalism entails both a linking of 'here' (host country) and 'there' (motherland) 'affected both by the contrastive social identities that international migrants import and develop and the constraints of the relational matrix in which they find themselves' (Waldinger & Fitzgerald 2004: 1177).

However, the agency of these national/ethnic ideologies does not only belong to those who produce it or reproduce it, but also to those who accept it. Therefore, people who are baptised with the patriotic ideologies of a National Celebration may draw on these ideologies to celebrate ceremoniously a National Day; or they might be inspired by these ideologies so as to organise their own struggles over recognition and distribution.

Evidence of this is the case of Greece in 28 October 2011 (see Introduction §2) when groups of civilians in many cities of Greece blocked the national parade. The citizens employed the symbolic representation of the national celebration and organised their own resistance. Greeks based on the symbolic and selective ideology of successful resistance against the Italian army, expressed their own resistance against the political institutions that are blamed for the inequities of power and wealth that they experience. By resorting to this kind of struggle and resistance they managed to publicly express and challenge the asymmetries in power and wealth (misrecognition and socio-economic injustice).

In summary, I would argue that National Celebrations have an embedded element of resistance that stems from struggles over recognition and redistribution of power and wealth. This embedded element can both serve the interests of the state by reproducing hegemonic ideologies, but in several political and social conditions can also serve the interest of the civilians and may lead to affirmative or transformative remedies for change.

Chapter 4

Design of the Study- Methodology

Abstract

This chapter sets out to describe the design of the study along with the methodology and the methods. In the first section I set out to describe the steps of the study along with the background research in the fields of community education and identity. Then, I focus on the conceptual analysis and terminology of ethnography. Lastly, I address issues of the methods that will be used for data collection and data analysis.

1. Rationale of the Study and the Research Questions

As already stressed, the focus of this study is to explore the ways participants negotiate ethno-cultural identities within the bilingual/bicultural context of a Greek community school in London. More explicitly, I explore how students negotiate aspects of ethno-cultural self-positions while engaged in national celebration performances. I adopt an ethnographic approach and I employ the methods of interviews, observations and field notes. My intention is to gain insight into aspects of ethno-cultural identity in relation to national celebration theatre performances, as experienced by the students, viewed by the parents and approached by the teachers, within the context of a Greek community school. In this view, the scope of the present study is to explore the following research questions:

- How do teachers, parents and students perceive the role of the Greek community school in reference to ethno-cultural identity?
- What is the place and role of national celebrations within the context of the Greek community school?
- How does the community (students and parents) negotiate aspects of Greek ethno-cultural identity while engaged in national celebration theatre performances?

An important aspect of community school life is the organisation of national celebrations. For the commemoration of the three main national celebrations

(28th October-Greeko-Italian war; 25th March-Greek Independence Day; and 1st April-EOKA armed fight), a great amount of time and effort is devoted. The students participate with patriotic songs, recitation of poems and drama performances. The celebrations are open to public and these days usually function as an opportunity for family gathering (including extended family members) and socialising with other community members. Moreover, these celebrations are treated with all the proper solemnities and members of the Greek and Greek-Cypriot government or embassy are invited. In this view, these celebrations could be described as ritualised performances. Schechner (2002: 45) argues that 'rituals are a way people remember...are memories in action, encoded into actions'. Rituals might be both sacred and secular and are described as 'liminal performances' (Schechner, 2002: 57) or 'rites of passage' (Gennep, 1960: 3). What is fascinating about these ritualized performances is that the participants undergo a transitive, transformative process in reference to their identity. As Schechner (2002: 57-58) maintains during the liminal phase those undergoing the ritual 'are open to change...are stripped of their former identities...they are identityless and then they are ascribed their new identities'.

Therefore, if the national celebrations within the community school function as secular rituals, do they have an impact on the participants' identities? To explore this further I will employ an ethnographic case study approach that will permit an insight into the complex process of identity negotiation. Prior to presenting this methodological approach I will also explore relevant background studies.

Background research serves a dual role: The former is that it enables the researcher to explore prevailing methodologies and methods that are used in the field under research (in this case the fields of community schooling and identity). Thus, it provides initial guidelines on the research process so as to address the research questions more effectively. The latter role is associated with the qualitative nature of my research.

The question of generalizability often raises issues in qualitative research because the samples are too small or just a single case. Generalizability or

external validity is 'the extent to which findings can be generalised to other settings similar to the one in which the study occurred' (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994:100). In the literature there is a variety of approaches on generalisability in qualitative research. For instance, Stake (1995: 7) argues that 'case study is a poor basis for generalisation'. Instead he proposes 'petite generalisations' from single cases that will be studied and interpreted at length. Conversely, Hammersley (1992: 89-90) proposes three methods that could assist in generalisation: collaboration between ethnographers and survey researchers; coordination of several ethnographic studies; and obtaining and comparing information about relevant aspects of similar cases. In view of Hammersley's last point, I could argue that the exploration of the background research could partially address issues of generalisability. As Peräkylä stresses (1997: 214), 'The comparative approach directly tackles the question of generalisability by demonstrating similarities and differences across a number of settings'. Therefore, the comparisons that emerge through background research literature could provide a degree of generalisability to a qualitative study. Moreover, these comparisons could also indicate gaps or under-researched elements that might be addressed through the current research.

2. Background Research

The aspect of identity within the community schools has been addressed in the literature by a number of scholars. In a large project (Creese et al., 2008) funded by ESRC and conducted in four minority communities -eight community schools- one of the main aims was to investigate the multilingual practices and identity performances of young people and their teachers in community schools. Creese and her colleagues developed 'innovative ethnographic team methodologies using interlocking case studies across diverse social, cultural religious and linguistic contexts' (2008: 9). The methods included ethnographic team observational fieldwork; audio and video recordings of key participants; and semi-structured and open interviews with children, parents and teachers/coordinators. For the data analysis they used a linguistic ethnography approach from a social constructivist point of view. As this was a large project

the findings report on a number of issues, such as bilingualism, classroom ecologies, etc. Regarding the aspect of identity, the study reports that young people questioned or even ridiculed the teachers' and administrators' views of the heritage language as 'an endowment of knowledge of a national history, nationalism and identity' (2008: 18). However, the students show 'much enthusiasm in participating in community events such as Diwali festivals (Gujarati case study) and Children's Day (Turkish case study)' (ibid).

Accordingly, in another ESRC funded project, Francis et al. (RES-000-23-1513) explore 'the role of complementary schools in pupils' constructions of social and educational identities, in the context of debates on social identity and achievement' (www.esrcsocietytoday.ac.uk/RES-000-23-513, accessed 5/12/10). The research methods included ethnographic observation, documentary analysis and interviews with teachers, parents and students. The qualitative analysis involved a broad thematic in-depth discursive analysis to highlight patterns of behaviour, response and discourse. Based on the reported findings,

'young people described themselves in ways ranging from Chinese, British-born Chinese, and British but their constructions of ethnic identity were far more likely to draw on contemporary, diasporic, youth cultural formations than the more 'traditional' perceptions of parents and teachers' (Francis et al., 2008: 32).

These findings are in line with Creese's et al study (2008) and indicate that an important element on identity is that, 'speaking Chinese was seen by many respondents as a key indicator of Chinese identity' even in cases of third generation children who 'are less likely to speak Chinese at home (their parents may have limited Chinese language abilities themselves)' (ibid).

Sneddon's study (2010) explores children's bilingual learner identities as they emerge from a partnership between Sphresa (Albanian community organisation) and a mainstream primary school. It is worth noting in reference to my own study that 'Sphresa organizes Albanian classes and a range of drama, dance,

sporting and cultural activities' (Sneddon, 2010: 47). Sneddon follows an ethnographic approach and uses observations and interviews mainly with children¹⁸. She argues that bilingual approaches 'can support the negotiation of personal identity and highlight aspects of learner identity as children learn to read in their home language' (2009: 43). As regards the impact of the performing activities, it is reported that there was a positive effect on the 'children's confidence in their developing identities... the children talk about Albania, dancing and their culture and wanting to fit in to the community here' (2010: 55). This study also draws on elements from collaboration between mainstream education and community organisations. Cummins (2005) has stressed the positive impact that such contexts have on students' affirmation of identities.

Lastly, Prokopiou & Cline (2010) explore the impact that the cultural communities have on the students' developing cultural identities within a Greek and a Pakistani community school in England. Using episodic interviews with 16 students (8 Greek-Cypriot and 8 Pakistani) along with drawings and group work, Prokopiou and Cline suggest, 'these young persons' cultural and academic identities are constantly constructed and reconstructed through dialogical relationships with themselves and others' (ibid: 83). Historical, economic and political factors affect the needs and goals of each minority community and consequently, the process of identity construction and reconstruction.

The studies presented earlier are ethnographic case studies employing schools or classes as single cases. The methods that seem to prevail are that of observation and semi-structured/open interviews. The participants are mainly students, parents, teachers and some times other administrators such as co-ordinators of a programme (e.g. Sneddon, 2010).

In the aforementioned studies (and a number of others that cannot be reported all at the moment) the community schools are described as a 'safe place' where the children can negotiate ethnic, cultural and linguistic identities. The perspective varies in each study from sociocultural, to constructivist,

¹⁸ In this paper she only reports on findings based on students' voices and observations.

postmodern, etc. Sometimes identity is perceived as hybrid and others they regard it through the lens of Third Space theory (Bhabha, 1994). The common pattern in the majority of the studies is that the students live 'in-between' (Moje et al, 2004) two or more cultures; two or more languages; and they have access to and draw from multiple funds of knowledge. This access permits the negotiation of a variety, often in-conflict, self-positions that may not be identified exclusively with the dominant and/or with the heritage culture.

Moreover, Creese's et al. (2008) and Sneddon's (2010) studies indicated a positive relation between cultural celebrations, the students' confidence and attitude towards the community and identity. However, Creese et al. (2008) and Francis et al. (2008) also stressed that the students often questioned the teachers' and administrators' national and nationalistic expressions. In view of the above, it will be challenging to explore the place and possible impact of national celebrations on the students' negotiation of ethno-cultural self-positions within the context of the Greek community school. Do national celebrations have a positive impact on the participants' self-positions as in Sneddon's Sphresa project or do the students question the national celebrations as representations of nationalism as in Creese's study? Therefore, through this study I will address aspects of community education that has been described as an under-researched (Martin et al., 2003; Li Wei, 2006; Lytra & Martin, 2010) area. Moreover, I will explore some additional aspects of this field, such as theatre performances and ethno-cultural identity that have not been explored in the past.

3. Design of the Study

I intend to take an ethnographic approach to gain insight into aspects of identity as viewed from the perspectives of participants involved. It is a qualitative research that employs the methods of observations, field notes and interviews. Moreover, I employ content analysis on the script of the play that was performed for the national celebration. Lastly, a small student survey supplements and triangulates the data obtained from the above sources.

More explicitly, the focus of this study is on the dual national celebration of 25th March and 1st April. All community schools in London celebrate these two national days on a common celebration because the commemorated days are too close. The rationale for the choice of this specific celebration lies on the fact that it represents all three ethnic positions simultaneously. The 25th March represents the *Greek* ethnic ideology as it commemorates the Greek Day of Independence and the national fight against the Ottoman rule; and the 1st April represents the *Greek-Cypriot* armed fight against the *British* colonial rule. Given that the participants are British-born of Greek-Cypriot origin, I would argue that they draw their ethnic identity positions from the three aforementioned - at least - ethnic ideologies. Therefore, it will be challenging to explore the ways they negotiate the respective ethnic representations.

The study involves a pilot study and the main study. During the main study I employ the method of participant observation throughout the phase of preparation and performance of the celebration. After having gained consent from the head-teacher, the class teacher and the students' parents the project proceeds with the initial phase of the data collection. The lessons and the rehearsals were audio-recorded so that the field notes include authentic verbal and non-verbal cues as expressed during the classroom interaction.

In the second phase of the research, some students (case studies) were interviewed. The criteria for the choice of the participants vary so as to accomplish a more representative theoretical sampling. As Silverman (2000: 105) argues 'sampling in qualitative research is neither statistical nor purely personal: it is, or should be theoretically grounded'. Theoretical sampling means that the sample is relevant to the research questions explored; to the researcher's theoretical background; and, 'it builds in certain characteristics and criteria which help to develop and test your theory and explanation' (Mason, 1996: 94). Following the perspective of theoretical sampling the student-participants come from a variety of backgrounds e.g. Greek-Cypriots of first, second or third generation; mixed origin British-Greek-Cypriot; boys and girls.

This selection permits comparisons across the different attributes of the participants.

The participants were not limited to the students. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with the parents and one of the grandparents. This allowed comparisons across generations along with the impact of the family on the students' habitus. Lastly, the teachers' and head-teacher's interviews offer useful insight into the role of community education and the aspired role of national celebrations in reference to ethno-cultural identity.

Another supplementary source of data is the analysis of the scripts, poems, historical narrations and speeches that were performed the day of the celebration. Lastly, the student-survey though not representative as it has a small 20-participants sample (from the two classes that participated in the theatre performance), may not permit generalisation but it permits cross-comparisons and triangulation of data obtained from the interviews.

In conclusion, the design of the study has two phases:

- Phase 1: classroom, rehearsal and performance observations and construction of field notes
- Phase 2: semi-structured interviews and student-survey.

The sources for the data collection will be the following:

- Field notes from participant observations
- Transcripts from semi-structured interviews with four students, three parents, one grandparent, five teachers (one is the playwright of the theatre play that was performed) and the head-teacher. As McCoy (2006: 109) suggests, the interview accounts will make 'visible the ways the institutional order creates the conditions of individual experience'. Thus, will give an insight on the interface between the participants' experiences and the community school as institution.
- A small student survey (see Appendix 1).
- Documents such as scripts, poems, stories and class resources that fall under the category of texts 'as heuristic devices to identify data consisting

of words and images which have become recorded without the intervention of the researcher' (Silverman, 2000: 40).

4. Methodology

From a methodological perspective, the approach that I follow is critical ethnographic case study. The term critical refers to the power relations and/or constructions that are acknowledged and explored within the field under research. It is an attempt to 'seek the truth lying hidden behind the veil of distortion and misrepresentation, ideology and class interest, through which the events of current history are presented to us' (Chomsky: 1987: 60). As Delhi (2008: 47) notes, the role of the critical ethnographer is 'to represent, as best she can, the rich complexities of the lives of people she studies' by addressing relations of domination and lack of recognition.

My choice for ethnographic case study is grounded both on the background research studies and on the specific features of ethnography. More explicitly, the majority of the studies on the field of community schooling and identity are ethnographic studies. This indicates ethnography as an applicable and efficacious approach for the exploration of this field. Moreover, the key aspects of ethnography could serve better the research questions of this study.

The key features of ethnography may be described as follows:

- Ethnography encompasses a first-hand experience where people are studied in everyday natural contexts, 'in situ observation of concrete sequences of activities' (Baszanger & Dodier, 2004: 9). 'These settings are often characterized as *natural* in the sense that they are contrived or modified by the observer' (Sherman & Webb, 1988: 80).
- The participants include a small number of cases, a group of people or single cases 'to facilitate in-depth study' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983: 3).
- Data are obtained from a range of sources, not just one, e.g. observations, field notes, informal and formal interviews.
- The data collection is unstructured but not unsystematic. The design of the study, the data collection and the data analysis do not have a rigid structure.

Instead they are shaped by the situation, the participants' responses and the context.

- The analysis and interpretation is conducted in depth, with a focus on detailed, "thick", descriptive accounts.

As Geertz (1973: 6) notes

'From one point of view, that of the textbook, doing ethnography is establishing rapport, selecting informants, transcribing texts, taking genealogies, mapping fields, keeping a diary, and so on. But it is not these things, techniques and received procedures, that define the enterprise. What defines it is the kind of intellectual effort it is: an elaborate venture in, to borrow a notion from Gilbert Ryle, *thick description*'.

- Emphasises 'emic' approaches to studying problems, thus a purpose to understand the thoughts of the participants based on their concepts and the ways they define their reality (Sherman & Webb, 1988). (For further analysis on the features of ethnography see Hammersely, 1998; Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995; Atkinson et al., 2001).

The aforementioned characteristics are acknowledged within this project. More explicitly, the research is conducted within a Greek community school that may be described as a natural context in the sense that it is not 'contrived or modified by the observer' (Sherman & Webb, 1988: 80). Studying this context as a participant observer gives insights from first-hand experience. My participants (students, parents, grandparents, teachers, etc.) all constitute a small community, thus a small case study. I employ a range of sources (participant observation, field notes, discussions and interviews, content analysis and a student survey). The data collection is systematic but not structured; the theoretical background, the participants' responses and the reflective process inform constantly the data collection and analysis. My analysis and interpretation is detailed based on descriptions derived from my

experience/observation in the fieldwork, extracts from the interviews and supplementary sources such as texts and the student survey.

Though ethnography has been employed as a method and methodology for quite a few academic disciplines, it has also been questioned for several of the aforementioned key features. Regarding the 'first-hand experience' the positivistic perspective could argue that the researcher does not have control over the variables. However, 'the aim of social research is to capture the character of naturally occurring human behaviour' (Hammersley, 1998: 8) in contrast to artificial, experimental settings where the researcher controls one or more variables. This control, may be argued that, distorts reality by describing phenomena that do not occur naturally. Moreover, the character of educational research may not always be nomothetic (creating laws) the way it happens in physical science. The nature of educational research is more identified with idiographic, thus discovering and representing phenomena that are closer to social reality. Hayes (2000: 140) stresses that idiographic techniques 'allow the researcher to gain an insight into the person's own distinctive way of seeing the world... so as to explore issues and experiences in more depth'.

Ethnographic case studies have also been criticised for using small samples/cases that are not representative of a larger population, thus have no generalizability¹⁹ and might be of little or no value. Studying a small number of cases permits an in-depth focus on your participants' behaviours and accounts that may not be achieved through quantifiable data. Given that quantitative research often 'ignores the differences between the natural and the social world by failing to understand the *meanings* that are brought to social life' (Silverman, 2000: 4-5), ethnography seeks to understand these meanings by producing correlational in-depth analysis through cross-comparisons.

Despite the fact that generalizability is not one of the distinctive characteristics of small case methodological approaches, it may also be argued that large case samples do not always secure it. Large samples might also jeopardise

¹⁹ For the notion of generalizability see also the section of 'Background Research' §2.

generalizability depending on the sampling process, e.g. convenient sample or representativeness of this sample to the distinctive characteristics of a greater population. Moreover, the purpose of a study might not be to provide insights that might be generalisable across the whole category but to analyse a unique case. This case could also provide insights that might be transferable to similar cases. For this reason Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest the term 'transferability' instead of the positivist term 'generalizability'. Accordingly, they argue,

'the degree of transferability is a direct function of the similarity between the two contexts, what we shall call fittingness (1985: 124)...an investigator can make no statements of transferability of his or her own findings...[S/he] can supply only that information about the studied site that may make possible a judgment of transferability to some other site' (ibid: 217)'

The choice of using a small sample for this research is grounded in the rationale that in breadth observations of this small group of participants will permit in depth exploration of what happens in the classroom. In contrast, an in breadth sample could result in losing important information from in depth analysis and interpretation. Furthermore, while acknowledging that this sample does not permit generalizability, the 'thick descriptions' might permit transferability of the data or insights to similar settings, e.g. other community schools in U.K. or Greek community schools in other countries.

Another source for critique for the ethnographic approaches has been the non-structured methods of data collection. This critique focuses on the subjectivity of observations and interviews and on the limits that this poses on replication. Regarding subjectivity, Hammersley (1998:10) stresses, 'what data are collected depends on the researcher, and to one degree or another reflects her or his personal characteristics'. This means that all research, qualitative and quantitative, is subjective in a sense, since all methods of data collection are informed by the researcher's personality and values. 'Value freedom research is either undesirable or impossible' (Silverman, 2000: 2). On the other hand, objectivity refers to the natural sciences' heuristic assumption that everything

can be explained in terms of causality (Kirk & Miller, 1986) and that there is one and only one truth.

Since the dispute between objectivism and subjectivism has long been a topic among philosophers and social scientists, I will not try to address it here, as this is not the scope of this study. However, I would argue that qualitative studies could address critiques of subjectivism by using 'multiple accounts' (Hammersley, 1990:119) and 'comparing data from different sources' (Hammersley, 1998:10). This technique is known as triangulation²⁰ and is employed as a strategy of reducing the threats of subjectivity without being 'panacea' (ibid, 1990:119). The aggregation of data from different sources does not necessarily secure that it will produce a more complete picture (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). As Denzin (1978:28) argues 'each method reveals different aspects.... no single method will ever meet the requirements... thus a combination of multiple methods must be employed'.

In this study triangulation is employed 'not so much as a technique of monitoring... its basic principle is that of collecting observations/accounts of a situation from a variety of angles and then comparing and contrasting them' (Elliott, 1991:82). By collecting accounts from three different groups (students, parents and teachers- triangulating different data sources) through three different methods (observations/field notes, interviews and survey data- methodological triangulation) is a 'way of asking some different questions about a topic and making some *accurate* comments... in the sense as done with care' (Fusco, 2008: 163).

Subjectivity is also associated with replication, a term that refers to the reliability of the research, thus the consistency or repeatability of an experiment by other scientists so as to ensure the validity of the study. The roots of replication can be found in physical science and the positivistic model. However, even in natural science it is not always possible to replicate and thus validate the results. Both

²⁰ 'Triangulation, a metaphor taken from geographical surveying, where taking multiple measurements allows the surveyor to obtain a single result' (Hayes, 2000:135).

validity and reliability of ethnographic studies may be assessed on other grounds, such as 'whether the descriptions and explanations provided are correct' (Hammersley, 1990: 122). It is true that ethnographic studies may not be replicated, but this does not minimise the value of its contribution to the academic field. Many qualitative studies have been used as an exploratory stage for further research and provided useful in-depth insights that were lacking from experimental, numeric accounts.

In conclusion, I would argue that the discussion between qualitative and quantitative approaches is long and there is not an absolute truth or suggestion on which one is more 'accurate', in the positivist sense of 'correct in all details'. There are limitations in both approaches and the researcher needs to acknowledge these limitations so as to conduct 'accurate' studies, thus 'done with care'.

5. Methods

As Silverman (2000: 88) argues 'methodology is a general approach to studying research topics' and as such it informs the methods that will be used and the way these methods will be applied. The methodological approach that I described in the previous section will inform respectively the methods employed for this research: participant observation, ethnographic interviews and a student survey.

5.1 Participant Observation and Field Notes

One of the methods used in ethnographic case studies is participant observation and the compilation of field notes. Powdermaker (1966) referred to the duality of the term: participant by entering the life of others; and observer by standing back and questioning or objectifying what you see. Paul (1953:69) also noticed the oxymoron of the term: 'participation implies emotional involvement; observation requires detachment'. This is part of the role of the researcher: seek understanding through participation in the community studied but at the same time realising s/he is not one of them. This means that the researcher needs to explicate his/her own perspectives before giving an account of those of other people; 'challenge existing forms of knowing through using different ways of seeing' (Simons, 1996: 237).

'Participant observers conduct research into social groups or situations by joining in with those situations, and becoming members of the group they are studying' (Hayes, 2000:59) The categorisation of participant observation varies according to the degree of participation, the role of the researcher (covert or overt) and the degree of structure (e.g. predefined categories or agenda of topics). Regarding the former categorisation, Gold (1958: 217-223) has identified four participant-observer roles: the complete participant, the participant as observer, the observer as participant and the complete observer.

The 'complete participant' enters in the group with a research identity fully concealed. This strategy facilitates full and often unobstructed participation but raises ethical issues, as the researcher does not gain consent; it is often problematic as when and how to record the data; and also entails a dyad of contradictory roles: disguised participant and researcher at the same time. For the second category of 'participant as observer', the researcher makes his identity known, participates fully and develops relationships through time. The third role, 'observer as participant', lays more emphasis on the observational aspect than on the participatory. The researcher enters the fieldwork with an overt identity and his/her contacts are brief and formalised. The last role, of the 'complete observer', focuses entirely on the process of observation and detaches the researcher from the participants. The role that seemed more applicable for the current study was the 'participant as observer'. My participation in the classroom is full and my research identity overt after having gained consent.

My observations follow an un-structured approach (see previous discussion in ethnography) in the sense that they do not have a priori rigid, pre-defined categories. Despite being un-structured, they are systematic and mediated by the use of audio-recordings. The product of these 15 observations are a very rich source of field notes, 'a form of representation; a way of reducing just-observed events, persons and places to written accounts' (Atkinson et al, 2001:353). Initial field notes are in-process writings produced from and for the ethnographer. They do not have a structure and might not make sense to an external reader.

They are descriptive, narrative and some times reflective accounts derived from the participant observation fieldwork. These initial accounts are transformed, reordered, analysed and 'substantially rewritten' (ibid: 362) before incorporated in the final ethnographic text.

Participant observation and field notes can be criticised for being subjective, in the sense that they are eclectic; the researcher cannot observe, write and describe everything that occurs. However, all methods are eclectic, given that all methods focus on specific aspects and this choice is mediated and affected by the researcher's personal values and characteristics. This does not necessarily cause a threat to validity or trustworthiness, as long as 'the account accurately represents the phenomena to which it refers' (Hammersley, 1998: 62).

Participant observation, despite the gains of first-hand experience, still encounters some difficulties. As Denzin notes (1978: 198) past events that occurred before the researcher's entry into the field might affect the present conditions. Thus, he suggests the use of interviews and documentary analysis that might clarify events that occurred prior to observation. Silverman (2001: 234) also notes that the presence of the observer might change the situation and therefore the researcher's decision of the role s/he will adopt is very crucial. In order to address these difficulties I avoided taking exhaustive notes while an activity was in process and I employed a digital audio recorder to supplement the notes that I took during breaks and pauses. The complete form of field notes was written based on the audio recordings and the jotted notes (key words and phrases) after the lesson has finished.

By following this approach, I tried to minimise the degree of effect that my presence, as a researcher, might have in the classroom. Moreover, the fact that I was a teacher at this school and I have an established relationship with the school community (students, teachers, parents) facilitated my role as a participant observer. However, the role of teacher-as-researcher has been questioned in terms of power relationships. It could be argued that the teacher is in a dominant position since s/he decides what is to be studied and how. In this

sense 'research itself is seen as a form of domination' (Hammersley, 1998: 16) since even where researcher and participants are equal, power is still involved from the researcher's site. What we should keep in mind is that in classroom ethnography, the students take a participatory role; thus, the educational research is reorientated from studies on children, to studies with children. So, despite existing power relationships between teacher-students and researcher-participants, in classroom ethnography, the distance and the dominance of the power is minimised as the emphasis is on the participants' voices.

5.2 Ethnographic Interviews

The other methodological tool that was employed was interviews (Appendix B, sample of interview questions) with 4 students, 4 parents, 1 grandparent, 5 teachers (Appendix D participants) and the head-teacher. An ethnographic interview according to Silverman et al. (2001:369) has two distinguishing features: time and quality. The former refers to the duration and frequency of contact that promotes the establishment of respectful, with rapport, on-going relationships. The latter aspect is affected by the former and refers to the quality of the relationship, which distinguishes an ethnographic interview from other types of interview. It could be argued that this close (to a degree) relationship might reflect bias and emotional involvement. However, it could be counter-argued that only through rapport and trust you can gain genuine responses that mirror the participants' values and ideas. Regarding the aspect of emotion, as Warren (1988: 47) stresses,

'emotions are evoked in the fieldwork like any interaction of life. But transference or identification is evoked mainly through talking with others, in conversations or interviews'.

Though rapport is considered as a facilitator and embedded element of ethnographic interviews, it requires awareness of the 'self' and 'other', constant reflection on this basis and acknowledgement of existing power relations.

The data and experience gained from the observation are supplemented and often orientate the interview data. Thus, the interviews are informed by the participant observation data (data inform data) and this is a distinctive characteristic of the grounded theory related process that I follow for the data analysis (see later discussion §8).

As regards the specific approach or typology of interview that was employed, as with other methods, interviews have been categorised in relation to the structure or the type of questions. Interviews can be structured, semi-structured and unstructured/'open-structured' (Hayes, 2000:122). The former category includes interviews, which have an a priori, rigid and not flexible construction. They are similar to questionnaires, but differentiated by the presence of the researcher; in questionnaires the questions are very specific and standardised (sometimes even pre-coded) and there is no flexibility from the interviewer or the interviewee. Usually the questions are 'closed'; they can be answered by a yes or no, or the answer can be easily coded and categorised. On the other hand, semi-structured interviews stand somewhere in the middle; they have a prior structure but it is more flexible. They include both closed and open-ended questions, which permit the interviewee to answer more freely. The last category, open-structured interviews take the form of conversation; the interviewer might have a structure or agenda of topics that intends to discuss. However, this structure is not rigid; it involves a range of topics that might arise through the discussion. They usually start with a 'primer question, which encourages the respondent to start talking' (ibid: 123) and continue in a reflexive and flexible way, according to the responses of the interviewee and the issues s/he wants to discuss.

The type of interview that is employed for this study could be identified with the semi-structured interviews. After having built rapport, the interviewee is informed of my intention to discuss a range of issues regarding my research. Sometimes this discussion includes the main topics of the interview, so as to make the participant feel more comfortable with the process. This process and

rapport is what ethnographic interviewing consists of because as Stenhouse stressed:

‘Part of my job is to give people the feeling not merely that they have my ear, my mind, and my thoughts concentrated on them but that they want to give an account of themselves ...to see the interview as an opportunity of telling someone how they see the world’ (1984: 222).

For the children-participants in some cases the researcher needs to resort to more structured interviews (e.g. specific questions besides the main topics) or different interview techniques, depending on their age or the degree of rapport. As Kellett and Ding (2004: 168) note²¹ ‘what makes the situation more acute with children is the unequal power relation between adult researcher and child’. However, my presence and participation throughout the project optimised the relationship to the student-participants and they were excited to participate in the project. The aspect of participation ‘enables them to set the agenda, have greater control and participate on their own terms’. The interviews were conducted in their own terms regarding the language they preferred to use, the time and space. Reassuring the students that there was no right or wrong answer and that the interview is private, confidential and anonymous minimised the student-teacher effect. Lastly, the use of the digital audio recorder was an element that relaxed the student-participants as I let them play/explore it before the interview. The structure of the interview followed a similar pattern to the one with the adult-interviewees but the vocabulary employed and the linguistic structures were simplified to accommodate the students’ needs.

In summary, semi-structured ethnographic interviews were employed to gain insight into the participants’ perspectives. The topics of the interview were related both to the research questions, the background theory and the observations. As Stenhouse (1987: 217) stresses, ‘interview is often dependent upon observation’. The agenda of the interview was also related to the student survey that played a supplementary role to the data.

²¹ Drawing on Mayall’s (1994) and Mauthner’s (1997) work.

6. Student Survey

Silverman (2004: 361) argues that qualitative studies often suffer from 'a gap between beliefs and action and between what people say and what they do'. Moreover, interview as a methodological tool has been criticised for being subjective and for generating data under the pressure of the power relation between researcher and participant. To address the above arguments this study, as stressed earlier, employs a methodological triangulation. In this view, the gap between beliefs and actions is addressed with the method of observation. The field notes offer useful insights between what people say and what they do. Respectively, by employing the student survey there is an intention to address issues of subjectivity and to leave space and time to the participant so as to answer a series of question without the presence of the researcher.

In interpretive/descriptive studies, such as the present, it is a common practice for the researcher to resort either to mixed methods or combining a variety of methods.

As Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2007: 205) stress,

'surveys gather data at a particular point in time with the intention of describing the nature of existing conditions, or identifying standards against which existing conditions can be compared, or determining the relationships that exist between specific events. Thus, surveys may... provide simple frequency counts to those that present relational analysis'.

More explicitly, the survey 'questionnaire' that was designed for the purposes of this research aimed at providing 'snapshot' (ibid) retrospective data of the students who participated in the national celebration performance. Given the difficulties of interviewing and analysing qualitative data from 20 participants, the survey provided some relational, not generalisable (due to small sampling), frequency counts regarding the student population. Moreover, some of the data

derived from the survey offered opportunities for relational analysis, eg. heritage language use and context.

In summary, this method was supplementary to the main methods employed and functioned as a cross-comparison, relational tool rather than as the main medium for describing and interpreting the field under research.

7. Ethical Issues

The research was conducted 'within an ethic of respect for: the person, knowledge, democratic values, the quality of educational research and academic freedom' (BERA, 2004:4). Ethical issues such as anonymity, confidentiality and the right to withdraw were considered. A consent form (Appendix C) was given to all the participants and the aims and procedures of the project were explained thoroughly. Rapport with teachers, parents and students was build and the process of gaining consent did not present any difficulties.

8. Grounded-Theory Related analysis

For both the data collection and analysis processes I follow an approach that combines elements of inductive and deductive models. Wengraf (2001:3) describes two main models that prevail in social research methodology. The former characterised as 'Common-Sense Hypothetico-inductivist Model' has its roots in the grounded-theory tradition (Glaser & Strauss, 1968). In this model theory emerges from the data by a process of induction (Wengraf, *ibid*). The second model is described as 'Anti-common-sense Hypothetico-deductivist'. In this model theory informs the generation of hypotheses and then the hypotheses are either supported or refuted by the collected evidence. Both approaches have debatable strengths and flaws depending on the context where they are applied.

Grounded theory rejects the 'deductive' method of theory building that begins with an existing theory and then attempts through experiments and hypotheses to test that theory. This method has been criticised as 'not producing new understandings and new theoretical explanations that may contradict the initial theory' (Ezzy, 2002: 9). In contrast to deductive theory, simplistic inductive

approach suggests an entrance 'to the research setting with as few predetermined ideas as possible' (Glaser, 1978: 3). However, this approach, strictly orientated to the data, might neglect the influence of pre-existing theories.

'More sophisticated uses of grounded theory draw on both inductive and deductive methods' where pre-existing theories sensitise the orientation of the research questions and shape the general interpretation of the data (Ezzy, 2002, 12-13).

In the current research project there is a constant interplay between inductive and deductive approaches. However, as I will argue later, I am not to follow strictly what Ezzy (2002, *ibid*) calls 'a sophisticated grounded-theory method, but a 'grounded-theory related method' that draws both on inductive and deductive approaches. To be more explicit, my professional experience along with the theory informed the initial research questions. Then further analysis of the theory oriented the pilot study data collection. The research questions and the theory informed partly the deconstruction of the themes that emerged during the pilot study analysis. Through this deconstruction new themes were revealed that have not emerged in the literature review. The analysis of that corps of data informed further the theory and the forthcoming interview-data collection. Since I conducted the observations, interviews and student survey after having deconstructed the themes of the theatre play (this has been done during the pilot study), there was a process where data informed the data.

The cycle of data and theory might be represented as follows (Diagram 1):

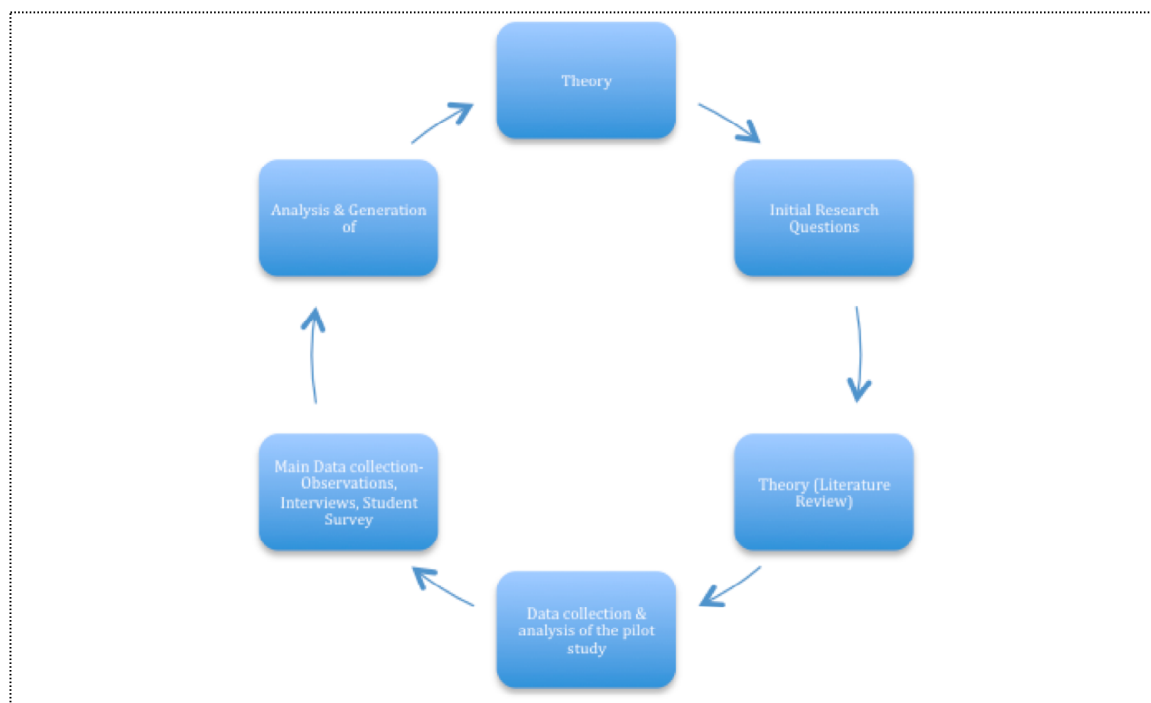


Diagram 1: Inductive-Deductive cycle between theory and data.

To recapitalise on the above diagram, the theoretical background informed both the research questions and the initial categorisation of the pilot study themes (from theory to data). The supplementary themes, thus the data, which emerged from the pilot study, informed further the main study data collection, thus the observation, interview questions and student-survey (from data to data). Moreover, the observations informed the interview questions and the student-survey (again from data to data). The combined analysis of all data provides a more detailed theoretical framework and could possibly foster the generation of a theory (from data to theory). In view of the above analysis and the diagram, I would argue that I follow a combined inductive/deductive approach where theory and data mutually inform one the other.

More explicitly, the pilot study included the analysis of a DVD that recorded the national celebration of a previous year, interviews with the head-teacher and the playwright (also a school-teacher), one parent and one student. I have chosen to analyse this performance as part of the pilot study for two reasons: Formerly, the national celebration that it was commemorated was the 25th March-1st April national day which is the same as the main study. Secondly, the theatre play that

was performed was the same as the main study. Therefore, the pilot study had many basic similarities to the main study that could facilitate comparisons. There were no ethical issues to be considered regarding the use of the DVD as this was sold at the school and I gained permission for its analysis from both the head-teacher and the playwright.

To proceed with the analysis, I employed an approach that would generate the main themes from the data. As regards the DVD, I applied a grounded theory related method so as to identify the main themes in the script of the play and the speeches that were delivered during the national celebration. I also applied similar approaches to the transcription of the interviews. The coding process of grounded theory provided 'the link between the data and the conceptualization' (Bryman & Burgess, 1994: 5).

Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss developed grounded theory methods during the 1960s. Grounded theory is rooted in qualitative research and as Strauss & Corbin (1990: 23) argue, it 'is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents'. The basic component parts of this method could be described as follows:

- Simultaneous data collection and analysis,
- Generate codes and categories from data,
- Employing comparative methods,
- Building theory while doing data collection and analysis,
- Name and categorise concepts,
- Develop categories in terms of their properties,
- Define relationships between categories and sub-categories, and
- Sampling related to theory construction, not population representativeness (Charmaz, 2006:5-6; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Theory emerges from the data analysis and the data collection. Glaser and Strauss propose the following three stages: open coding, axial coding and selective coding. During open coding the researcher breaks down the data into parts- often line by line- and attempts to name and categorise phenomena.

Comparison is a significant part of that stage. At the axial coding stage the researcher identifies connections between categories and its subcategories. Selective coding may happen simultaneously with axial coding and it involves connection and validation between the core category and the other categories.

However, we should acknowledge that Glaser and Strauss's examples suggest a very rigid inductive structure in the proposed stages. In view of the fact that I am applying Glaser and Strauss's coding and comparison stages following a combined inductive-deductive approach, I would argue that the method that I am employing is *grounded-theory related* and not *grounded-theory per se*. For that reason, throughout the analysis I often resort to the theoretical framework that I explored in the literature review (Bourdieu, Hall, Hermans, etc.) along with other theories (e.g. postcolonial theory) that might shed more light in the deconstruction of the data.

Analysis

The analysis that follows is based on both the pilot study and the main research. The theme of the national celebration is 25th March and 1st April and the performance that is studied commemorates the EOKA armed fight against the British rule. The title of the play is 'Blue was the colour of the dream' and it reports on the story of Evagoras Pallikarides, a young EOKA member who was hanged. According to Galatariotou (2008: 89) 'The unjust, cruel and culturally deeply offensive circumstances surrounding the trial and hanging of an adolescent schoolboy (Evagoras Pallikarides) during the Emergency gave EOKA the perfect sacrificial victim that finally turned it into a mass movement'.

The play is divided in eleven acts and the characters are: Evagoras Pallikarides, his anonymous girlfriend, his parents, two narrators (a boy and a girl), supplementary mute characters (two mothers with their children), Greek-Cypriot guerrillas, British soldiers, Evagora's teacher and some students. The scenery of the stage is simple and simple props- such as prison bars, the gallows, flags, desks, etc. - function as signifiers or language-objects that support the development of the myth.

The myth unfolds watching Evagoras as a young student who is protesting against the British soldiers with pamphlets that manifest the demands of the Cypriot people: 'Ελευθερία' (Freedom) and 'Ενωσις' (Unification). Then he joins the army and the Cypriot guerrillas who live in the mountains. Lastly, the British soldiers capture, imprison and hang Evagoras.

The analysis is divided in three main themes that emerged out of the grounded theory related analysis during the pilot study: religion, language and national celebration theatre performances. Each theme has a range of sub-categories that emerged from the relevant theory and/or the data.

Chapter 5

Analysis: Theme of Religion

1. From Theory to the Pilot Study

Background research suggests that ‘religion may play a valuable role in society—providing youth with an environment of intergenerational support that can foster values, meaning, identity, and sense of belonging and connectedness beyond themselves’ (Ebstyne King, 2003: 203). In view of this element, I explored whether the Greek community school also functions as a faith-based setting and whether religion informs identity formation.

Many scholars (to name only a few Erikson, 1965; Hunsberger, Pratt, & Pancer, 2001; Marcia, 2002) have explored the significance of religious ideology, religious settings and religious rituals in reference to identity formation. Moreover, the theoretical background suggested that religion is highly valued within the Greek society and this is evident in the provisions that are made for the educational system both in mainland and abroad (Chapter 1§1 & Chapter 2 §4.d). Drawing on Fokas’ (2009: 349) argument that in the domain of religion there is a ‘*Greek exceptionalism* due to the lack of full separation of church and state and to the prominent place of religion in society’, I maintain that religious representations possibly inform the respective ethno-cultural self-positions. Moreover, this *exceptionalism* could make Greek ethno-cultural identity a unique case to be explored as the religious and the ethnic identity often overlap.

In view of this element, during the pilot study I explored the religious symbolic representations that appear within the national celebration. Interesting data suggested that Greek Orthodox religion is often perceived as an element of Greek ethnic identity and it is symbolically manifested as such within the Greek community school.

Religion is the first theme that emerged both in the pilot and main studies. In both cases, the school started the national celebration with a prayer. The

symbolic value of this religious ritual/performance was reinforced by the presence of a priest. Moreover, several other religious symbolic representations were employed throughout the national celebration. For instance, all the speeches that were delivered with the occasion of that national performance had implicit and explicit references to the religious aspect of Greek ethnic identity.

The head-teacher highlighted, *'here we aim at developing the Greek language, the Greek culture and above all we teach our students to be proud members of the Greek-Christian Orthodox community'*. Similarly, the political representative argued, *'we should not forget that Christian Orthodoxy and Hellenism are interwoven'*. Lastly, the priest in his short speech emphasised *'the role of the [Christian] Church in supporting the Hellenic ethnos in all endeavours to achieve freedom and independence'* and he made explicit references to religious historical figures (Bishop Palaion Patron Germanos-1821 and Archbishop Makarios-1955) that *'played a pivotal role in critical historical moments'* (source of Data: DVD).

In all three extracts, the school, the political and the Church representatives reported on the close interrelation between nationality and religious identity. In the first extract, the head teacher presented the development of the students' religious identity as one of the aims of the school. His speech is in line with what the curriculum suggests on the same issue: 'Diffusion of the Greek language, Greek Orthodox tradition and Greek culture' Chapter 1: Article 1, Law 2413/1996 (Chapter 1 §1). The political representative supplemented the previous point by emphasising the link between Greek secular and religious life. Lastly, the priest supported the previous arguments by presenting historical practices and historical figures that indicate the close link that binds the Greek state and the Orthodox Church. As Meselidis maintains (2010: 42) 'myths' such as those of Palaion Patron Germanos 'were essential to the prestige and relevance of the Church in Greek society in the twenty-first century and legitimated its social and political right to express its views on national issues'.

The theme of religion was not limited to the speeches but it also emerged symbolically in the theatrical performance. Two symbolic representations

manifest religious references in the script/performance of the play: The former is in Evagora's lines when his mother visits him in prison the eve of his death; and the latter, when Evagoras puts on his Christian cross. In the first case, Evagoras says:

*Σε καρτερούσα, δεν μπορεί σκεφτόμουν να μ'αφήσεις
Χριστού παραμονή χωρίς φιλή.*

*I was waiting for you, and I was thinking that you couldn't leave me
without a kiss on Christ's Eve*

This scene represents the last meeting of the hero with his parents. Evagoras will be hanged the following day. Therefore, the implicit reference to Christ could symbolise the eve of his death. It could also be interpreted through an analogy to Christ's crucifixion as the element of 'eve' appears also in religious narratives of Christ's death. According to the Babylonian Talmud: 'On the eve of the Passover Yeshu was hanged' (Sanhedrin 43a, Babylonian Talmud, Soncino Edition). Moreover, Christ's crucifixion is often perceived as a knowing and willing sacrifice. A similar pattern of sacrifice emerges in Evagora's trial, as he did not deny possession of the weapon. During the trial he argued: 'I know you will sentence me to death, but whatever I did, I did as a Cypriot who wants his liberty' (Amendment to the Anglo-American Financial agreement: Hearings, 1957:15). Therefore, the reference of Christ in Evagora's lines could both be interpreted as a religious symbolic reference for the 'eve of death' and as an analogy to a willing sacrifice.

The second religious reference in the play is more explicit: the hero, Evagoras, prior to leaving his family in order to join the guerrilla army in the mountains he puts on his cross.

*Κι έλεγε ανυπόμονα:
«Σκλάβος είμαι ακόμα;»
«Σκλάβος ναι» του φώναξε κάποιος στο πλευρό του
και να βάλει πρόφτασε μόνο το σταυρό του.*

*And he was wondering:
'Am I still a slave?'
'Yes, a slave' someone yelled at him
and he had time only to put on his cross.*

While the narrators say these lines we can see on stage Evagoras wearing his cross. Three important elements should be mentioned for this extract of the play: the religious representation; the term 'slave'; and, its relevance to the main study.

As regards, the religious aspect of this act, the use of the Christian cross is the most well known symbol of Christianity and is perceived as a representation of Christ's crucifixion. In this view, the earlier analysis of crucifixion as sacrifice may also be applicable here. Moreover, the act of Evagoras signifies the religious identity of the hero, thus he is represented as a Christian ethnic hero. Lastly, it could be interpreted as an act that denotes a continuum among the heroes of Greek history, especially those of 1821.

The war of 1821 has its roots in the fall of Byzantine Empire in 1453 and the establishment of Ottoman Empire. As Volkan (1979) argues, the loss of the Byzantine Empire is often described as a trauma that is relived and triggered in every Greek-Turkish related instance: in the defeat of the Greek army in Asia Minor in 1922 and also in the gaining of land in Cyprus in 1974 (this will be discussed further later in the analysis).

Volkan and Itzkowitz (2000:228) stress that after the fall of Constantinople (today Istanbul) the total Greek world became part of the multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-religious Ottoman Empire. In the Ottoman Empire 'one's main identity was derived from one's religious affiliation' (ibid: 228). Therefore, when the Greek War of Independence was signalled in 1821, two main symbols were employed for the birth of the Modern Greek nation: Christianity as manifested in the Byzantine era; and Hellenism rooted in Ancient Greece. The religious affiliation to Christian Orthodoxy was strongly manifested in the historical and mythical narratives of a number of heroes. For instance, one of the 1821 heroes, Athanasios Diakos, according to popular tradition, while captured he was subjected to horrible tortures because he denied to convert from Christianity to

Islam. Traditional folk poems and songs suggest that his response was 'I was born Greek and I shall die Greek'

(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Athanasios_Diakos, accessed 6/10/12).

In this popular national narrative, the hero sacrifices his life for his country and his religion. Interestingly, the denial of faith conversion is presented as a denial of nationality conversion. Therefore, Diakos's response (folklore or historical) signifies a correlation between religious and ethnic identity. In view of this element, adherence to Orthodox Christianity is manifested in Greek historical and mythical narratives as a prerequisite attribute of a hero's character. Indicative of the significance of faith in the Greek War of Independence is Alexandros Ypsilantis' Proclamation of Revolt: 'Fight for Faith and Motherland! The time has come, O Hellenes. The Motherland is calling us!' (Clogg, 1976: 201). Similarly, Evagoras is presented as such a hero who is willing to sacrifice his life for the freedom of his country and his faith.

In summary, Evagora's act with the cross ascribes to the hero both his religious and ethnic identity, which often coincide in the Greek case. It signals a continuum between the heroes of the past: sacrifice for the values of country and religion. Lastly, it ascribes to the hero's actions a divine nature; as if he is blessed *with God's help* to fulfil his patriotic duty.

This last aspect raises our attention to an oxymoron: the paradox of fighting and killing with *The bless of God* or *In the name of God*. Similar paradoxes appear in many historical and mythical narratives. From the ancient Greek God Ares (or Roman God Mars) who was the God of War to current wars *In the name of God*, religion has often been employed as an ideology for (mis)leading religious groups or individuals against Other communities. As Catherwood (2002: 4) argues, 'it is not only ersatz²² religions that have caused people to act en masse but also actual religions, from Serbian Orthodoxy to Islam'. Despite the fact that one of the commands is 'You shall not kill', killing in the name of God is often

²² Katherwood gives the example of Stalin, Hitler, Milosevic and Obama as false gods who inspire fanaticism to their followers.

legitimised when the sovereignty of a religious community is presented under the threat of the Other. In the same way, Evagoras's act to put on his cross not only presents him as a Greek Orthodox hero but at the same time 'with the blessing of God' legitimises any future violent or fatal actions against another human, perceived as an enemy.

Another important element worth of analysis is the term 'slave' in Evagora's lines. The use of this term is not directly associated with the theme of religion but it is linked with other elements of Greek religious ethno-cultural identity. Moreover, the analysis of this term will reveal new dimensions of identity, related to 'colonial' and 'continuum' issues, which will be explored further during the main study. Thus, the data analysis of the pilot study will inform further the data collection and analysis of the main study, which is part of the combined inductive-deductive grounded-theory related approach (see also Chapter 4§8).

As regards the term 'slave', in the literature it is commonly used within colonial and post-colonial texts to denote exploitation of African populations. Achankeng (2003:4) argues that 'African urban history starts with the introduction of foreign religions (Christianity and Islam), slave trade, colonialism, and neo-colonialism'. On the same issue, Mills (2003) argues that African slavery was often grounded on ideologies of 'white supremacy' that argued for a 'eurocentrism' and denigrated non-European cultures as inferior. In order to best serve the interests of economical and cultural imperialism, colonial people were denied of the worth of their cultural sphere. Within African slavery contexts this required and/or resulted in racial/black stigmatisation.

The use of the term 'slave' in Evagora's lines can be interpreted through a dual perspective. The former is associated with the Cypriot anti-colonial fight; and the latter could signal a continuum and belonging to the 1821 Greek history. As regards colonialism, the theme of the national celebration/performance is the commemoration of Cypriot resistance against the British colonial power. Thus, it may be perceived as the manifestation of what Said describes as 'defensive nationalism':

‘Defensive nationalism, movements of the weak and the oppressed, I very much support. One has to distinguish between types of nationalism, and between phases.... on the one hand we need nationalism; but we must realize it is never sufficient’ (in an interview with Howe, 2006: 37).

In this view, the use of the term ‘slave’ in Evagora’s lines could signal an anti-colonial nationalistic representation. What is interesting to be explored in the main study is that the play is performed by and addressed to a post-colonial generation who lives permanently in the country of the former coloniser. The question that emerges is how students, parents and teachers negotiate elements of their ethno-cultural post-colonial identity when confronted with issues of dual British-Cypriot identity; thus, coloniser-colonised roles? Further exploration and analysis of the colonial representation of the term ‘slave’ will follow in the main study.

Another dimension of the term ‘slave’ is its relevance to the Greek War of Independence and the continuum that it denotes between the heroes of that era and Evagora as a Greek war-hero. The Ottoman Empire period prior to the genesis of the Greek nation is often reported in Greek historical and folk narratives as the *400 years of slavery under the Turkish rule*. This is supported by Theodossopoulos’ findings while exploring the views that a Greek population in Peloponnese (Patra) holds about the Turks ‘the most representative ethnic Other in Greece’ (2007: 29). He reports (2007:35-36),

‘The period between the fall of Constantinople and the foundation of the Greek state is referred to in Patras as “the four hundred years of slavery”, a standard Modern Greek expression for the years the Ottomans ruled the lands that now comprise Greece (see also Just, 1989: 74 & Herzfeld, 1985: 19)’.

Therefore, the term slave could also denote continuum and belonging to the Hellenic ethnos.

It should also be acknowledged that in historical/political terms, the Cypriot armed struggle is an anti-colonial, liberation fight with an emphasis on the demand for Unification to the Motherland of Greece (see Chapters 2 & 3). Cyprus 'emerged as an independent state in 1960 after a five-year (1955-60) Greek Cypriot armed struggle for enosis (union with Greece) against the British colonial authorities' (Papadakis, 1998: 151). Therefore, there are two ideological reasons that suggest a continuum between the Greek (1821) and the Greek-Cypriot (1955) fight: the first is explicit as both historical fights are wars for independence and freedom. The second is implicit, because Cyprus is not only fighting for independence, but also for Enosis. In this view, the Cypriots employ all available symbolic representations that could suggest belonging to the greater Hellenic ethnos and resonance to their demand for unification. Similarly, affiliation to Orthodox Christianity, a distinctive characteristic of Greek national identity and of the Hellenic ethnos, is employed as an indicator that supports the Greek-Cypriot struggle for Independence and Enosis.

In summary of the above, Evagoras is presented and identified as a 'slave' in two ways: Literally, as a person who is colonised by a dominant Other; and, symbolically, as a historical war hero identified with Greek ancestor war heroes of 1821. The Greek-Cypriot anti-colonial struggle is represented through the former position. Similarly, the ideological dimension of this struggle, which was Enosis with Greece, is mirrored in Evagora's latter symbolical position. As Roudometof (2000, 365) argues, 'The very process of nation building entails the manipulation of space and historical memory in order to establish symbolic connections among people, space, and time'. In an analogous way, the Greek Cypriot struggle for Enosis and Independence, employed symbolic representations that suggest connections among the Greek-Cypriots and the Greeks; the Greek-Cypriot and the Greek history; and, the Greek-Cypriot and the Greek religion.

In a similar way, the symbolic role of religion and religious representations may be interpreted in two levels. Firstly, Evagoras' religious act legitimises 'with the grace of God' the anti-colonial struggle against the British dominant. Moreover, it

suggests affiliation to Greek-Orthodox Christian identity and thus legitimises the struggle for Enosis.

The analysis of this extract of the script/play informed further the data collection/analysis by suggesting new dimensions between religious and national identity. Moreover, this same extract was part of the script/play of the main research. The teacher, who originally wrote the play and also made the adaptation for the second performance, insisted on including this scene. Despite the fact that the second play was much smaller in time-length than the play of the pilot study, she highlighted the religious significance of the extract for the character of the hero.

During the pilot study interview, Mrs. Elena²³ reported: *‘whenever Greece and Cyprus were fighting for their freedom the Church was supporting them...I think that religion is what sustains the Greek person... During the Holy week of Easter you can see young people flooding the church. They cannot disconnect themselves from their religion. They wear a cross and they pray every night. The religion we are teaching them is the true religion. ... religion is a fundamental element of our schools because through religion you hold them, you tight them to the community.’*

Mrs. Elena’s reported perceptions on religion could be summarised on the following three points:

- Religious practices and rituals
- Religious ideologies
- The relation between state, Church and school

As regards the former, Mrs. Elena reports on a number of practices that denote the students’ adherence to Orthodox religion. Thus, she suggests a point that should be explored during the main study: whether the students and their families maintain religious practices related to the Greek Orthodox tradition. More interestingly, it would be challenging to explore whether the school’s

²³ See Appendix D for a full list of all the participants.

religious rituals and symbolic representations have any impact on the students' religious practices and sense of belonging to the Orthodox Church community.

According to Mrs. Elena's reported perceptions one of the school aims is to foster the development of a Greek religious identity. She regards religion as a cornerstone that '*tights*' the students to the school and respectively to the ethnic Greek community. Garbarino (1995: 150) using a similar metaphor has characterised religious congregations as 'spiritual anchors' 'that connect children and teenagers to the deeper meanings of life and provide solid answers to the existential questions: Who am I? What is the meaning of life?' The case of the Greek community school in London opens a new field for exploration: whether religion actually functions as a 'tight/anchor'; and whether these ties are spiritual or national given the lack of separation between religious and ethnic identity, thus between Church-State.

2. The Main Study

The theoretical background and the pilot study suggested 'religion' as one of the elements of Greek ethnocultural identity within the diasporic community in London. Based on these elements religion was explored further during the main study. The analysis proceeds by presenting data analysis from the observations/field notes and then combined analysis of interview and survey data.

a. Field notes

The theme of the national celebrations was part of the staff meeting agenda and it was raised by the head-teacher. He stressed that the teachers should lay emphasis on teaching the historical events of these celebrations because '*we should not forget who we are*'. He explained that the students are third or fourth generation and even their parents don't speak the language. '*It is our duty to maintain the language, the traditions, our religion and the history*' (Field notes, 04/02/2012).

In the above extract the head-teacher makes an explicit reference to the aims of the school regarding the national celebrations. His aims could be summarised on identity development through language, culture, religion and history. Despite the fact that the emphasis is on the historical dimension of these celebrations, he employs the possessive determiner personal pronoun 'our' when referring to religion. The use of this pronoun denotes his personal position as a member of this religious community and respectively refers to the religious identity position of the teachers' community.

Given the schools' and the head-teacher's guidelines, the teachers aim at delivering lessons in line with this ideological framework: language, culture, religious and historical maintenance. This is evident in the following two incidents that occurred in the classroom when preparing the performance of the play:

1. *Teacher-Why do you think that Evagoras feels like a slave?*
2. *Constantinos- Because he had to be in the mountains.*
3. *Maria- Because he wanted freedom for his country. He wasn't free. He was in a war and he was isolated in the mountains.*
4. *Iasonas- Because he had to fight, he wasn't free. The British had Cyprus. So, he had to be in the army.*
5. *Ellie- He wanted independence for Cyprus. Cyprus wasn't independent.*
6. *Victoria- Cyprus was a British colony and he felt like a slave.*

...

7. *Teacher -Why does he [Evagoras] put on his cross?*
8. *Constantina- For good luck.*
9. *Fanoula- To be protected from the enemy. Not to be shot.*
10. *Maria- So God can protect you.*
11. *Ellie- When you feel threatened you refer to God.*
12. *[Some students say yes and some others no. Iasonas, Maria, Ellie and Antonis are wearing a cross.]*
13. *Maria- My yiayia[grandmother] says that if you wear a cross the daemon knows that you are protected. Jesus protects you as if he is there next to you.*
14. *Ellie- Yes, you are protected from evil.*

(Audio Recorded Classroom Field Notes, 29/02/2012)

15. *[The cross I am wearing is visible.]*
16. *Antonis- Miss, I can see your cross. You should tuck it in.*
17. *Maria- Why????? I am wearing a cross as well...Why, we are proud of our religion. My yiayia [grandmother] says we should be proud to be Greek and Christians.*

(Audio Recorded Classroom Field Notes, 07/03/12)

During the first incident (29/02/12) the students negotiate the meaning of Evagora's religious act to put on his cross along with his position as a slave. On the second incident (7/03/12) the students report on the cross as a symbol of Christianity and on ethno-religious identity: *'be proud to be Greek and Christians'* (line 19).

As regards the first incident (lines 2-6) the students explore the concept 'slave' in reference to Evagora's struggle and position. They relate this notion to colonialism and the Cypriot fight for independence. They report on the guerrilla fight in the *'mountains'* (Constantinos and Maria) and on the concept of *'freedom and independence'* (Maria, Iasonas and Ellie) in relation to *'British colonialism'* (Iasonas and Victoria).

From this extract emerges that the students focus selectively only on the aspect of colonialism while neglecting or ignoring the issue of unification. During the pilot analysis I argued that the term slave might embrace both aspects of the Greek-Cypriot struggle: the fight for independence and the fight for Enosis with Greece. My argument, though not consistent with the students' accounts, it is in line with the teachers' and the playwright's reports.

Mrs. Elena during the interview stressed the title of the play: *'I have chosen this title "The dream was blue" so as to show that our dream was to become part of Greece. Our fight was for Enosis and freedom. Blue is the colour of the Greek flag, a symbol for Greece, for the sky and the sea'*. Similarly, Mr. Kostas, who is one of the first teachers who organised community education in London, a former EOKA fighter and also the second teacher responsible for the teaching of the play, reported: *'when I taught the play I wanted my students to learn that I lived these historical events and that there were young people, as young as eleven, who organised themselves for this fight. They were proud that they belonged to the greater Hellenic ethnos and they fought for that ethnos and for Cyprus' independence'*.

In both extracts, the two teachers, both of Cypriot origin, report on a close association between the celebration of 1st April and the concept of unification. Their reported positions are possibly associated with the respective political ideologies. As stressed in the theoretical background (chapter 2 §4.a) the Greek-Cypriots who identify more with the concept of Greekness/Hellenism are closer to the DISI (right-wing) political narratives and ideologies that lay a great emphasis on unification with Greece (Mavratsas, 1999; Papadakis, 1998). However, what the two teachers' report regarding the ideologies of the play and the respective ideology of the celebration of 1st April is not consistent with the students' perceptions and reports on the same issue. The students focus only on the concept of colonisation, independence and freedom while neglecting the aspect of unification. Thus, there is a reported contradiction between what the teachers and playwright intended to teach and what the students learn out of their participation in this performance.

The parents' reported perceptions regarding the content of the play are in line with what the students report: Mrs. Chrisa (Constantina's mother) argued, '*the play is about the Cypriot fight of Independence*'. Mr. Nikos (Ellie's father) stressed, '*it was a war for freedom, for Independence because you know we were under the British rule*'. Lastly, Mr. Ioannis (Iasona's father) added, '*we need to remember the people who fought for our freedom, for our Independence*'. In view of the parents', students' and teachers' reports, I would argue that there is a contradiction between the teachers' and the parents'/students' perception on the ideological content of this national celebration. The teachers lay greater emphasis on the aspect of enosis than on the issue of independence. On the contrary, both parents and students report on a struggle for independence and freedom without referring to Enosis.

This reported contradiction could be attributed to issues of political identity but it can also be the result of selective memory and family impact. Williams (1980:39) argues that within the process of selective tradition 'from a whole possible area of past and present, certain meanings and practices are chosen for emphasis, certain other meanings and practices are neglected and excluded'

(chapter 3 §3). In this view, the Cypriot fight of 1950 entails a success and a failure: it is a successful fight for Independence that resulted in the formation of the Cypriot nation; but at the same time it is a failed struggle for Enosis with Greece. The parents' selective tradition practice focuses on choosing the successful aspect of this struggle for independence while excluding the failed attempt for Enosis. Given the consensus between the students' and parents' reported perceptions, I argue that the family has a greater ideological influence on the students' ideological habitus than the school. The students, following their family's selective process, choose to focus and report only on the successful aspect of Cypriot Independence while neglecting Enosis, despite their teachers' efforts and aspirations.

As regards Evagora's act to wear his cross prior to leaving for the mountains, the students negotiate the meaning of his act in lines 8-14. The students relate his act with '*good luck*' (Fanoula), '*protection*' (Constantina and Maria) and there are also two direct references to '*God*' (Maria and Ellie). Based on the students' accounts, the use of the Christian symbol is interpreted as the presence of a higher religious power. This presence is associated with the feeling of safety, security and good luck.

As Weisbuch-Remington et al. (2005: 1213) suggest, the meaning of religious symbols in Christian-raised participants of their study 'was learned throughout their lifetime and was transmitted culturally and not genetically as earlier scholars (e.g. Jung) have suggested'. In their study they also argue that learned religious symbols help individuals to cope with existential issues and situations that are difficult or death threatening.

What seems to be important about symbols is that they are learned, culture-based shared transmitted signs. Signs were analysed by Saussure into signifier and signified. Thus, there is the form (actual word, image, photo, etc.) and there is the idea or concept in your head with which the form is associated. The former is the signifier and the latter is the signified, 'the corresponding concept it triggered off in your head' (Hall, 1997: 31).

The work of Saussure has been influential in language studies but symbols also function as communicative mediums and as such manifest authority and power. As Bourdieu (1991: 75) stresses, 'there is no symbolic power without the symbolism of power'. This means that the use of the Christian cross in the performance functions as a sign/symbol related to the actual image and the respective power. The use of the word 'cross' in Evagora's lines and the use of the respective object (prop) function as signifiers. This in turn might be associated with the idea or concept of the Orthodox Christian cross, thus as the signified, that the community members share.

The power that is manifested through the use of this symbol could be interpreted as another characteristic of a ritualistic performance. 'Rituals require that all who are present must participate in, or believe in...agree to live by the group's rules and beliefs' (Neelands & Dobson, 2000: 44). Therefore, the performance of Evagora's religious act might be interpreted as a celebration/affirmation of the Greek school community's shared religious beliefs.

Based on the students' accounts (lines 8-14), I would argue that the students already hold the shared meanings and beliefs regarding the cross as a symbol of Orthodox Christianity. Moreover, not only do they share the meaning but they accept their family's imposition regarding the sense of ethno-religious identity: *'My yiayia [grandmother] says we should be proud to be Greek and Christians'* (line 19). Thus, the Christian cross is a symbol that they have already learnt and they associate it with their ethno-religious identity and with positive meanings: *'good luck'* and *'protection'*. The students not only recognise the symbol but also link it to specific meanings and ritual practices. In this view, Evagora's religious act to wear his cross functions as a ritual of affirmation of his personal religious identity and as affirmation of the shared religious identity of the community.

During the interviews, while exploring further the students' perceptions on this act, one of the students, Maria, reported: *'He [Evagoras] was praying to God, saying thank you and praying for his life. He was very religious. It is the same thing*

we do everyday, praying to God for our life.' Similarly, her grandmother commented, *'You put on your cross when you are in danger, when you pray to God...our religion is the alpha and omega in our life and I want my children and grandchildren to know it and appreciate it. When the children eat they make their cross, they say their prayer and they won't leave the table without saying Δόξα σοι ο Θεός [Thank Thee Our God]'*.

In view of these comments, I would argue that the participants report on the meaning and practice of religious rituals within the family. Thus, the students' religious identity is fostered through daily rituals that are learned in practice. Through a process of mimesis and praxis, the students learn the use of religious symbols and performances along with the meaning of these performances. The performance of religious acts is a shared experience with members of the extended family. The process of sharing is highly valued by the elder members of the family: *'to know it and appreciate it'*. They expect their children to inherit and practise these rituals as a daily code of conduct. So, when Maria sees Evagora's act she associates it with her personal experience and practice and she affirms the religious identity that she shares with the hero.

Processes like the family's mimesis and praxis and Evagora's act, are in line with the lifelike representational realistic theatre as proposed by Aristotle and later by Stanislavski. The character behaves 'in ways that are true to the given circumstances' (Neelands & Dobson, 2000: 50). What makes it true and natural is that the students and the audience associate it with personal and family practices of everyday life. Evagora's natural act ensures consistency for the character's fixed pattern of behaviour; and because it is fixed, it is in turn determined and unquestionable. Thus, the symbolic value of presenting this act in a natural way is to impose it as determined and unquestionable; as a ritual that affirms and celebrates adherence to Orthodox Christianity.

Moreover, it should also be reminded that this is a school performance, thus it has an institutional dimension. As Apple (1996: 43) argues, we can fully understand how 'the religious Right grow only by focusing on the interactions,

ones that often occur at a local level, between the state and the daily lives of ordinary people as they interact with institutions'. The Greek diasporic community in London interacts religiously with two institutions: the community school and the church. In some cases both institutions might function under the same shelter, as some ecclesiastical community schools share church buildings. Both institutions produce and/or reproduce state ideologies through daily practices. These ideologies are closely interrelated to the nation state for two reasons: firstly because within the Greek milieu the boundaries between State-Church are blurred; secondly, because the school curriculum is designed by and serves the needs of the State. Therefore, State-Church-School function within a triangular ideological trade where one supports the other by circulating hegemonic ideologies that secure their maintenance. Lastly, as some parents (Mrs. Chrisa, Mr. Ioannis and Mr. Nikos) and teachers (Mrs. Anna and Mrs. Melanie) comment later in the interviews, this school is often recognised as having a '*right*' political orientation. Consequently, there might also be hidden right political ideologies within the manifested religious ideologies.

In conclusion, the realistic representation of Evagora's religious ritualistic act facilitates naturalisation and thus encourages identification and emotional involvement. The students and the audience decode and naturalise this symbolic act because it is a familiar element of their daily practices. The school aims at portraying this act in a natural, lifelike way because it encourages the naturalisation process of religious and state ideologies. Therefore, the school through that representation reaffirms its Orthodox Religious aspect towards the school community and the State; in turn, the community and the students affirm and celebrate their religious identity by participating in this ritual; lastly, the hero affirms his membership to this religious community and encourages the audience to share and empathise with his experience. This process of affirmation and reaffirmation of the community's religious identity is further explored during the interviews.

b. Interviews and survey

During the interviews the participants reported on the place and role of religion within the community school and their lives. Sometimes their religious identity positions were explicitly manifested when commenting on their sense of belonging to the Christian Orthodox community. Other times, their identity positions emerged through their reported perceptions and practices regarding religion. One of the common patterns that re-emerged was the lack of boundaries between secular and religious life and thus, between national/ethnic and religious identity positions.

The participants' reports often combine elements that embrace a plurality of views or self-positions. This may be attributed to the dialogical process of the plurality of self-positions (Hermans, 2010). Therefore, it is only for purposes of analytical convenience that their reports are presented under thematic categories. Following a grounded-theory decoding process, the categories that emerged under the theme of religion were: community school, family practices and ideologies. These were further related to religious, ethnic and cultural identity positions.

Religion and identity

All three groups of participants report on a close link between community education and religion. One of the roles that they identify on the function of community school is teaching and/or practising aspects of Greek Orthodox religion. More explicitly, the head-teacher reports: *'The role of community school is really important in fostering and maintaining the ethnic, cultural and religious identity of diaspora's children'*. Similarly, one of the teachers, Mrs. Fane, stresses about the community school: *'It is a Christian Orthodox school where the children learn prayers, they learn about the meaning of Easter, of Christmas and all major Christian celebrations'*.

The head-teacher's report highlights the aims of community education which is in line with the aims of diasporic education (Chapter 1 §1). In a similar way, Mrs. Fane(teacher) identifies the school as a faith-related setting where the children learn and practise religious rituals and traditions. The religious character of

community education is presented and accepted as something natural and unquestionable. These educators have been schooled within the Orthodox Christian education paradigm and thus have been 'shaped and saturated' (Grumet, 2008: 138) by the same curriculum that they now produce/reproduce. Therefore, their reports accept the hegemonic imposed religious character of Greek education as self-evident and therefore as natural, without challenging dominant discourses.

As Bourdieu and Apple maintain, besides the economic capital, there is also a symbolic, cultural capital which schools distribute. Schools

'as institutions of cultural preservation and distribution create and recreate forms of consciousness that enable social control to be maintained without the necessity of dominant groups having to resort to other mechanisms of domination' (Apple, 1990: 2).

In this view, the religious aspect of Greek education is a symbolic, cultural capital. The official presence of religion and Church in the curriculum legitimises it as an official and thus hegemonic ideology that is distributed through educational institutions. While educators, parents and students are shaped with this dominant ethnic religious ideology, social control is maintained by the Church and the State.

However, as Apple (1996: xvi) proposes later, 'schooling never was simply an imposition on supposedly politically/culturally inept people ...rather it was the result of struggles over what would count as legitimate knowledge'. Following this concept of struggle, one of the teacher-participants, Mrs. Melanie challenges these ideologies and practices: *'We live in a multicultural and multireligious environment and there are students who have different religious backgrounds such as Catholic or Muslim. Irrespective of what is written, or is compulsory to be written, in our ID, I think that it is unacceptable to force someone to participate in the prayer in order to accept him/her at the school'*. Mrs. Melanie questions the compulsory character of religious practices as a condition for belonging to the Greek school. Furthermore, she is resistant to the compulsory documentation of

religious identity by the Greek state and Church, thus she is critical of the hegemonic positions endorsed or expressed through the school, the State and the Church.

Her former position is related mostly to the multicultural and multireligious conditions of the host country. Mrs. Melanie asserts that religious education in the form of catechism does not acknowledge cultural and religious diversity and limits the students' agency. Her main concern is that religious participation is presented as a prerequisite for belonging to the school community. It is as if adherence to Orthodox Christianity is a prerequisite for participation to Hellenic Education. In this view, participation in community religious education does not 'aim at acquaintance with the Orthodox Christian faith, but inclusion in it. Likewise it does not include becoming acquainted with other religions' (Karamouzis & Athanassiadis, 2011: 326). Thus, Greek religious education suggests inclusion in the Christian faith and exclusion of Other religious positions. This element of exclusion will re-emerge later in the head-teacher's and the grandmother's accounts.

Mrs. Melanie, in her latter position, also questions the compulsory disclosure of a Greek citizen's religious identity. Her reference to ID and religious affiliation is strongly related to the 2000 church-political issues. It was then that the Greek government announced exclusion of religious affiliation²⁴ from national IDs so as to be in line with EU standards. This resulted in a number of public discussions initiated by church representatives. Mrs. Melanie's reported argument expresses reservation about this State-Church policy as if questioning 'belonging without believing' instead of 'believing without belonging' (Davie, 1994). As she stresses later, *'we can believe in Christianity and participate in the Church without enforcing it or "shouting" about it'*.

²⁴ MAY-26 [2000]: Greece: Religious affiliation on ID cards: Leaders of minority churches in Greece have expressed support for a government proposal to scrap the obligatory indication of religious affiliation on citizens' identity cards. However, the proposed reform is vigorously opposed by the (Orthodox) *Church of Greece* and by many politicians and may well prove unpopular with many Greeks. A spokeswoman for the Church of Greece in Athens told that belonging to the Orthodox Church was "*part of being Greek*". (http://www.religioustolerance.org/news_00may.htm accessed in 17/03/11).

Religion and Ethnic Identity

Despite this denaturalised critique the other teacher-participants report positively on the fundamental role of education in transmitting and maintaining Orthodox religious faith. They accept religious elements of community education as 'a catechism for the doctrines of our national religious ideology' (Karamouzis & Athanassiadis, 2011: 328). As Mr. Kostas argues, *'religion is part of our identity, of our everyday life and the school needs to support the children in establishing a Greek Christian Orthodox identity. Because Greeks are identified with Christian Orthodox Religion'*.

What the educators see as the role of the community school in reference to religion is in line with what the family members report regarding their expectations. As Maria's grandmother maintains, *'we bring our children and our grandchildren here because we want them to know about their religion. They need to learn to be proud for being Greek Christians Orthodox'*. Similarly, Constantina's mother adds, *'Our religion is our culture, our identity, we are Orthodox. The school encourages the children to value their Greek Orthodox identity'*.

In view of the participants' reports, I argue that the family expects from the school to foster a sense of belonging to the Christian Orthodox community. Moreover, they associate the students' religious identity with the students' ethnic identity. They report on *'being Greek Christian Orthodox'* and on valuing *'their Greek Orthodox identity'*. Jackson (2004: 14-15) argues that there is a 'static view' of ethnicity where a person is labelled and stereotyped as being from a certain ethnic group that shares a common ancestry, descent and a form of cultural continuity. He stands critically towards that 'static' point by drawing on Barth's work (1969, 1981, 2000) who argues that groups may reform ethnic identities while rediscovering and redefining themselves under conditions of power pressure or influence. In view of Barth's work, Jackson (ibid) concludes that 'ethnic identity depends on ascription by both insiders and outsiders; ethnicity is not fixed, but is defined situationally'.

Within diasporic communities, where the host country is multicultural and multireligious (as in London), both concepts, ethnicity and sense of ethnic identity, might be relative and situational and not directly associated with religion. This is evident in the participants' reports. When Iasona's dad comments on his sense of ethnicity and ethnic identity he reports, *'Ok, (pause) not British, no British-Greek. British-Greek-Cypriot yes. Greek-Cypriot or British-Greek-Cypriot, so. It depends to whom I am talking to but in most cases I would say Greek-Cypriot.'* When he defines the situations he comments, *'So, I think in the work environment it would be I am British-Greek-Cypriot you know. But anywhere else I would say I am Greek-Cypriot'.* Based on his reports, his ethnic identity is redefined depending on the attributes of the interlocutor (*to whom*) and the quality of the situation (*work environment*).

His argument is supported by other participants such as Maria's grandmother and Constantina's mother. The latter reports on how situational may be both the sense of ethnic belonging and ethnicity as ascribed by others to a person: *'I would say I am British-Cypriot, but I would also say I am British-Cypriot. When I was in Cyprus I would always say I am British-Cypriot because I differentiated to the Greek-Cypriots. Now that I am in England I become a Greek-Cypriot because I differentiate from the British and the British Cypriots.'* However, as she reports, there are cases where she does not share a sense of belonging to either communities: *'When I was there [Cyprus] I always felt that I was missing home here, now I am here [London] I feel I am missing home there. But over there I felt excluded because I wasn't Greek-Greek like the Greeks from Cyprus. Now, that I come back here I don't feel that I am British-Greek like the Greeks here'.* Moreover, this move from motherland to the host country has also affected her perception of the community's identity: *'I used to think they²⁵ were British Cypriots but now we have come back I think they are Greek-Cypriots, because they are more Greek than we thought'.* Lastly, regarding the situational element of identity she concludes, *'I also say Cypriot. I think I say Greek-Cypriot when it is more official. On a daily basis we just say Cypriot'.*

²⁵ Greek-Cypriots of the diaspora

These reports highlight the complexities of the field of ethnic identity and ethnicity. Iasona's father identified himself as *British-Greek-Cypriot* and as *Greek-Cypriot*. Constantina's mother reported on herself as *British-Cypriot*, *Greek-Cypriot* and *Cypriot*. In both cases the work environment or an official condition call for a redefinition of identity, different to the one that the persons use in their everyday life. Thus, the sense of identity is redefined situationally depending on the quality of interaction (official vs non-official) but also depending on the ethnic attributes of the environment (Cypriot or British). This latter aspect is associated with the differences and similarities that can impede or foster sense of belonging.

In the case of Constantina's mother there is an explicit lack of belonging to either community. The constant sense of differentiation that she depicts between herself and the members of both homeland and diasporic communities, emphasises the difficulty of identification. However, this is not a one way problem, thus it is not only how the person identifies with or differentiates from the community. It is also the inclusion and exclusion criteria that the community endorses for its members, thus the ethnic identity that outsiders ascribe to the person. As Maria's grandmother comments, '*When I go for shopping in Cyprus they often tell me that I am British-Cypriot, but I deny it. I explain that I was born here, I am Cypriot*'. In this view, I would conclude that the process of ethnic identification is relative and situational depending on the character of the interaction and the power relations it represents (ethnic, official, gender, socio-economic, etc.) and on the inclusion/exclusion criteria that are applied in identifying someone as insider/outsider.

The members of diasporic communities are often described as 'strangers in a strange land' or as members of hybrid or 'in-between' (Bhabha) communities. In the first case there is a reported lack of membership to either community, neither country. In the latter, the members create a new form of hybrid identity where they amalgamise elements from both homeland and host countries but this new form is not identified clearly with either country. Therefore, going back

to Jackson's (2004) arguments, in the case of the Greek-Cypriots in London both ethnic identity and ethnicity are situational in reference to insider-outsider ascriptions and self-ascriptions.

As Hall (2000: 16) maintains,

'Identification is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure or allegiance established on this foundation'.

Religion functions as an element that can foster similarities thus shared ideologies and differences. It is a marker of differentiation between the diasporic community and the multireligious country and at the same time it is a marker of identification that denotes membership to the diasporic community and the homeland. Therefore, Greek Orthodox religion is perceived as a factor that supports sense of belonging to the Greek community in London and respectively to the ethnic religious communities in Greece and Cyprus.

As Woodward (1997: 1-2) notes, 'identity marks the ways in which we are the same as others who share that position, and the ways in which we are different from those who do not'. In that sense when the participants identify themselves as '*Greek Orthodox*' (Mrs. Anna, teacher) or expect and aspire their children/students and grandchildren to recognise themselves as '*Greek Christians Orthodox*' (Mr. Kostas, teacher; Maria's grandmother, the headteacher), then they employ religion as sameness that will facilitate identification with a broader ethnic religious community. Similarly, when they practise or participate in religious rituals within this ethnic/faith community they manifest this sameness so as to claim recognition as an insider. This in turn will result in inclusion/membership of this community. Participation in religious rituals within the community school functions as the interpellation process (Althusser's, 1971) where the subject is recognised or recognises him/herself in a particular category or identity.

As regards the students' response to the schools' practices, to their teachers' reported perceptions and to their family's expectations, there is evidence that the children embrace the religious ideologies and practices as part of their identity formation. Despite the students' commitment to the religious aspect they do not necessarily recognise religion as an element of their ethnic identity. This is evident in the survey data where only 3/20 (15%) student- answered that they 'feel more Greek when they go to church'²⁶.

It was, only one of the students, Constantina, who ranked this as a first choice and it is significant to note that she is the only first generation Greek-Cypriot student-participant. Thus, her ethno-religious identity might have already been shaped within the Cypriot socio-cultural environment prior to her immigration to England. Given that the reasearch took place during the first months of her family's settlement in the U.K, the exposure that she has had to the multiethnic and multireligious London was very limited.

In this view, the only student who gave a strong indication between ethnic and religious identity does not share the same experiences/characteristics to the majority of the student population in the community school. The two boys who related church with feeling Greek belong to the 30% of second generation students (6/20), while the other 65% students (13/20) who participated in the survey are third generation. This difference signals the effect of the generational factor on the concept of ethno-religious identity. Constantina's reported view between ethnicity and religion coincide with the reported perceptions of the teacher and family participants who are (in the majority) also first generation immigrants. Background research suggests that there is a shift or variation of religious ideologies on second and/or third generations(e.g. Gap Min and Young Kim, 2005; Scourby, 1980; Cha, 2001, et al.).

As regards specifically the Greek case, Scourby (1980: 43), in a study on the ethnicity of three generation Greek Americans, argues that despite 'variation from generation to generation, the majority of Greeks still have a relatively

²⁶ Appendix A Question 6

strong attachment to their ethnic culture'. This attachment is often linked to 'the Greek Church, the Greek school and the Greek language as integral parts of the self-image' (ibid: 44). The impact of generation is also indicated if we look closely at other characteristics of the students who participated in the survey.

All three students who associated church and Greekness described themselves as Greek-Cypriot (one boy, one girl) and Cypriot (one boy). The other students who did not employ 'church' as a marker of their ethnic identity and who are in their majority third generation, identified themselves as Greek-Cypriot (10/20-50%), British-Greek-Cypriot (4/20-20% one from a mixed marriage with a British mother), Cypriot (2/20-10%) and Greek (1/20-5%). Thus, the element of Britishness in the ethnic identity starts to emerge after the second generation (ethnicity will be explored further in the analysis). Despite the fact that the majority of the student-participants defined their ethnic identity as Greek, Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot (in total 65%), they do not associate explicitly ethnicity and religion. So, the students might report on themselves as Christians and/or as Greek, Cypriot or Greek-Cypriot but they do not necessarily see themselves as Greek-Christians.

A similar distinction emerged in Jacobson's (1997) research on second generation British Pakistani Muslims. The participants of this study not only suggested differentiation between religion and ethnicity, but also stressed the more significant role of religion in their lives. While one's ethnic identity denoted attachment to a country or region of origin, one's religious identity signified belonging to a global community and 'commitment to a set of doctrines which asserts the intrinsic equality of men across all boundaries of 'race' and nationality' (Jacobson, 1997: 240).

Religion, Morals/Ideologies and Cultural Identity

Another dimension of religion that was explored during the interviews was the ritual of prayer within the community school. The students reported on this issue: [we do the prayer]

1. *'To remember that we are religious and we need to do our prayer every week at least to clean our sins'* (Iasonas);
2. *'To like have a good day at Greek school and God helps us'* (Maria);
3. *'I think it is good that we do it together, so we can learn it. Because when you go to the church you know it and you can join in with the priest'* (Constantina);
4. *'To show our respect to our religion and our God, because we are Christians, most of us are Christian Orthodox'* (Ellie).

The students' accounts indicate a naturalised acceptance of the ritual of prayer. Despite the fact that the school is not strictly a faith setting it is often –implicitly (lines 1 & 2) or explicitly (line 3)- perceived as such or as a continuum to the Church, which is the official faith setting. Interestingly, what both settings share is the character of the 'Greek institution'. This character is reinforced by three elements: the presence of the family (even extended members), the presence of the Greek community and the use of the Greek language. The students by drawing on these similarities associate the community school with the community church and perceive them as a continuum. It is as if the sacred and the profane coexist under the roof of the community school.

Another element that emerges in Ellie's extract (line 4) is the student's reports on the shared sense of belonging to this religious community (*our religion, our God, we are, most of us*). Moreover, the expression '*most of us*' could indicate an awareness of religious diversity and plurality (London as a multireligious setting) as the student recognises that not all the members of the community affiliate to Orthodox Christianity. The sense of membership is also manifested in Iasona's (*we are, we need*) and Constantina's (*together, join in*) extracts. As Constantina comments this membership is associated with the feeling of 'safety' and 'belonging'. '*When I go to church or when we say the prayer we do it together, you know that you belong there, you feel safe*'. Given that Constantina is a first generation immigrant, she might need this sense of belonging even more than the students who were born and raised in London. In this view, the church and

respectively the religion function as strings of continuity and attachment between homeland and host country.

The students' reports also indicate a link between religion and moral ideologies. The ritual of prayer is not limited to a community performance but it is expanded to a code of ethics, beliefs and morals. Iasonas comments that prayer '*cleans our sins*' and Maria argues that God will help her having a good day at school (lines 1 & 2). This is part of the Christian morality and the Christian values discourse that might have been instilled to the students by their family, the Church and school. It is part of a discourse and thus ideology that might serve a dual purpose. From a psycho-sociological point of view 'religious beliefs can give rise to hope, optimism, and meaning in otherwise damaging circumstances. Such hopeful beliefs may serve to sustain coping efforts in adverse conditions' (Weisbuch-Remington, Mendes, Seery and Blascovich, 2005: 1204). On the other hand, from a socio-political point, 'Christian values language along with economic right-wrong language as employed by rightist political parties, has immense power and can become truly hegemonic' (Apple, 1996: 14).

I would argue that the language of Christian values is self-reproductive and for that reason hegemonic. It is presented as natural, thus unquestionable and through that way it is imposed and reproduced. It is a process of naturalisation, 'an attempt to halt the inevitable "slide" of meaning, to secure discursive or ideological "closure" (Hall, 1997: 245).

There is an implicit and explicit sense of value that also the parent and teacher participants project on religion. This value is grounded on moral and ethical beliefs and/or ideologies that the participants attribute to Greek Orthodox religion. It is a religious code of conduct that teachers and family members have been saturated with and have accepted as natural culture-based elements of their daily practice. Since it is perceived as part of their cultural and religious/ethnic identity they wish to teach it and transmit it to younger generations. These ideologies may be also implicitly related to further right and conservative political ideologies that dictate this specific viewpoint of religion.

More explicitly, some of the teacher-participants report on religious ideologies and values: The head teacher, who reflects the curriculum and thus the State hegemonic positions, comments, *'Our religion is our roots. Our religion teaches the moral and values that other societies and religions have lost. And our society has lost moral orientation because we have lost Christian Orthodox values such as love, solidarity, compassion, sympathy...as a Greek school we try to inculcate these beliefs and ethics to our children'*.

In the above extract one can detect an amalgam of positions. When the head teacher comments on the value and worth of Christian religion, he does it by following simultaneously an inclusive/exclusive way. By stressing that lack of moral orientation in the society and the Other religions, he presents the Christian Orthodox religion as a salvation choice that will re-orientate the students. By excluding the Other religions he emphasises the reasons for adapting a Christian way life: *'love, solidarity, compassion, sympathy'*. He concludes that the aim of the school is to instil these ethics, morals, values to the children, as if the children are in a moral endangerment, threatened ethically by the multireligious environment of the host country.

This is also the position of other educators, who argue that *'we teach the true religion'* (Mrs. Elena); *'we teach the children what is the true meaning of Christmas. It is not only shopping and consuming and presents. In the English school unfortunately they don't learn about the true meaning of Christianity. It is our obligation to teach them'* (Mr. Kostas).

In all the above accounts a critical questioning prevails about the ethics and morals of the host country. Moreover, they present mistrust on the host educational system regarding the students' religious education. By questioning and devaluing the current religious education they can justify the necessity for Christian Orthodox religious community education. It is again a process of exclusion and Otherness. In ethnic terms it might be interpreted as xenophobia but in this case it is presented as Other-religion-phobia that threatens the

sovereignty and the ethics of the Christian Orthodox diasporic community. This might be a defence mechanism of the Christian Orthodox diasporic communities that are misrepresented within the dominant multireligious environment. The devaluation of the Other results in the manifestation of the value of the 'us' and 'our religion'.

The family's accounts on the same issue coincide with the school's beliefs and aims. *'Our religion is our culture, who we are. It is our beliefs and our values and the children should learn about that... I think it is important that the Greek prayer in Greek is taught to all the kids, it is something that they should know about their culture and religion'* (Ellie's father); *'Being Christian Orthodox is who we are, what we believe in...I wouldn't like them to marry a person from another ethnicity who doesn't share the same religion. This would mean that they do not share the same ethics, the same values and the same culture....they learn about these things in the Greek school and they might also meet here their husband or wife'* (Maria's grandmother).

There is a repeated pattern between the triptych religion-morals-culture that emerges in both family's and educator's accounts. The family not only shares with the school the same moral religious ideology, but also reports on the expectations that they have from the school. According to their reported perceptions, they expect that the children while attending community school they will learn to value the Christian moral ethics and the respective culture. Moreover, Maria's grandmother applies the same exclusion criteria for 'the Other as strange' and envisages an intercommunity and thus interreligious marriage for her children and grandchildren. Her argument is that this marriage will be based on a shared religious –culturally and ethically- code of conduct. What is interesting is that religion is reported not only in relation to a person's ethnic identity (see earlier discussion on Greek Orthodox Christian) but also to a person's cultural identity, through morals, ethics and culture-based practices.

The family-participants report between religion, culture and identity as if one supports the other or as if one coincides with the other. This aspect also re-

emerges in other parental and educators' accounts. For instance, Iasona's father reports, *'The school help us to remember our religion and our culture. Because we have the traditional festive periods like Easter and actually religion and culture go hand in hand'*. Similarly, one of the teachers, Mr. Kostas argues, *'our religion is our culture because we organise our lives and our school life around the Christian traditions. We teach our children what is the meaning of Easter and we also teach them the Easter traditions. These traditions have survived through many generations and we need to maintain them as a Greek Orthodox community'*.

Gap Min and Young Kim (2005) in the intergenerational study that they conducted on Korean Protestants in the U.S. suggest that religion is often indicated 'as the most important cultural mechanism for ethnic preservation' (p. 263), thus religion is often explored in relation to culture and/or as culture. However, in this study they conclude that 'transmitting a religion does not necessarily help to transmit ethnic culture and ethnic identity unless there is a strong correlation between the two' (ibid: 263). Within the Greek case, due to lack of distinctive boundaries between Church and State, there seems to be a reported strong relation between the two. Therefore, the parents, the community and the state might employ religion as a medium for cultural and ethnic maintenance, thus they might perceive religion as culture or as a medium that supports culture development.

Despite the fact that the students have not reported on a strong relation between ethnicity and religion, their reported perceptions regarding religion and culture seem to be stronger and also based on religious ideologies and practices. The students indicate a commitment to participation in religious rituals, ceremonies and culture-based festives. All student-participants argue that they go to church at least once a month with their family. They also report about this practice: *'I like Greek Easter and I like going to church on special occasions with my family like Easter, Christmas, name days because we do special beautiful services and the church is pretty'* (Maria-students); *'I like going to Church with my family. When I come back I feel a little bit better and I feel like I've done my bit for the church. We*

believe in God and Jesus and it is a good religion. God taught us to believe in him and to love other people' (Constantina).

In view of the students' accounts I would argue that religious cultural practices have been embraced by the younger generation as part of their tradition, culture and ideology. Their religious identity seems to inform their sense of Greek cultural identity. Moreover, the teachers' and parents' expectations regarding religion and culture seem to be fulfilled as the students unquestionably participate in religious rituals within the school and the church. Therefore, the natural representation of religious ideologies and cultural practices is accepted and reproduced by the younger generation. Glock's (1962, 1965) typology defines religiosity through five dimensions: faith, religious knowledge, religious experience, participation in church and the practice or forms of daily religious activity and conduct (In Karamouzis and Athanassiades, 2011: 314). Based on the participants' accounts, I argue that intergenerationally the Greek diasporic community manifests all five dimensions of religiosity.

As regards the relation between religiosity and identity representations, the students seem to employ religion also as a marker of identity especially in reference to the Other. They might not relate it to their own ethnic identity in terms of Greek-Cypriot-Orthodox but their accounts indicate an interrelation between ethnicity and identity. Ellie reports about the Cypriots in Cyprus *'they are Greek Orthodox'* and similarly she adds *'it is mainly the religion not the language that makes the difference between British and Cypriots in London; what they celebrate and how they celebrate it'*. Following the same perspective Iasonas comments, *'I think the Cypriots in Cyprus they would know more things about the religion than the Cypriots in London... But in Britain the parents wouldn't talk that much about their religion'*.

As both students stress, religion is perceived as a marker of identity and culture. Ellie characterises the Cypriots as *'Greek Orthodox'* and comments that religion differentiates people who have different ethnic backgrounds *'between British and Cypriots'* or follow different cultural practices *'what and how they celebrate'*.

Iasonas also employs the degree of religious knowledge in order to define the differences between the homeland and the diasporic community; and between the diasporic and the dominant community. This means that the students might not (yet?) use religion as a marker of their own ethnic identity, but they use it as a marker for other ethnic communities and for the greater ethnic community that they might belong. Given that some of the parent-participants who were also born in London have identified themselves as '*Greek-Orthodox*' (Constantina's mother), the students in the future might also resort to a similar pattern that interrelates religion with ethnicity. Alternatively, given the variations that occur from generation to generation this might not occur. Thus, in the future these student-participants might maintain distinctive boundaries between ethnic and religious identity positions as separate self-positions or they might endorse their parents' self-reports as Greek Christian Orthodox.

Chapter 6

Analysis: Theme Language

Abstract

In this part of the analysis I turn the focus on the aspect of language as an element of identity. Being bilingual within a dominant multilingual host country and learning/using a heritage language often raises issues of bilingual/bicultural identity that might inform or be related to other self-positions. The issue of language becomes even more complicated given that the Greek community in London is mainly of Greek-Cypriot origin, thus employs a bi-dialectical approach on the issue of heritage language: Standard Modern Greek and Greek Cypriot dialect.

This theme of bilingualism/bidialectism first emerged in theory (Chapter 2 §4.d) and therefore it was explored in the pilot study. Analysis of the pilot study data stressed further attention to aspects of linguistic identity that were then addressed in the main study. As Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:1) maintain, in bilingual contexts ‘different ideologies of language and identity come into conflict with each other with regard to what languages or varieties of languages should be spoken by particular kinds of people and in what context’. Symbolic power relations permeate every context and accordingly affect the linguistic choices of the speakers. These choices mutually inform and are informed by the different self-positions that one has or employs from its repertoire. As Bourdieu (1997:648) argues, ‘language is not only an instrument of communication or even of knowledge, but also an instrument of power’. This power might emerge from and/or manifest ethnic, gender, economical, social and political diversity. Embarking from that notion of language, I explore the community’s reported perceptions and practices regarding heritage language and identity.

1. From Theory to the Pilot Study

As Lytra and Martin (2010: xi) stress, community schools 'are set up for a range of functions, particularly the maintenance of community languages and cultures'. The theoretical background indicated that heritage language learning, development and/or maintenance is often the core and/or main aim of community education. Furthermore, language is often employed as a symbolic medium of cultural capital that might foster minority community member's cultural and/or ethnic identity. It is through the 'social nature of language' (Bourdieu, 1991: 34) that power relations and self-positions are defined implicitly and explicitly.

During the pilot study I followed the process of axial and selective coding and by using constant comparisons, I identified a number of sub-categories under the core category of language. Strauss and Corbin (1990: 96) suggest, 'This is done by utilising a coding paradigm involving conditions, context, action/interactional strategies and consequences' (Chapter 4 §8). More explicitly, the core category of language also involves: language in reference to the role of the community school; and language related to dialect issues.

Community Education and Language

According to the participants' reported perceptions one of the distinctive roles of community education is to develop and maintain the Greek language. During the interviews the head teacher and Mrs. Elena, agreed that *'one of the main reasons that children come to the Greek school is to learn and maintain the Greek language'* (head teacher). The political representative during his speech on the occasion of the school's national celebration made analogous comments: *'we are proud and we support your effort to teach our language to the younger generation'* (source of Data: DVD). Nicole, one of the students who participated in the study, also commented: *'I come to the Greek school to learn how to speak Greek'*. Lastly, in the school's official website²⁷ and facebook page it is reported that the school

²⁷ It is my intention not to cite the reference so as not to jeopardise the school's and the participants' anonymity.

aims to '*offer its children the opportunity to learn their mother tongue and preserve their Greek national traditions and inheritance*'.

In view of the above comments, language development maintains a high position within the school's role and it is often related to ethnic and cultural identity. These voices cannot be separated from the aims and provisions for the Greek diasporic education as analysed in the Law 2413/1996 (Chapter 1 §1). In the first chapter it was illustrated that the focus of the aims is on 'Language Development and Maintenance'. This indicates a homology between the political and State ideologies -as expressed through the political representative's speech and the State Law- and the field of production, which is the community school. However, one could wonder whether this homology within the fields is objective or euphemistic? Given that the students' and parents' home language is English²⁸ and that the community resorts to English language use -even when present in the community school- I argue that either the school fails to deliver the main aim of language development or that there is a reported incoherence between the participants' reported perceptions and the respective practices.

The following student interview extract is indicative of the status of Greek at home:

I-What language do you usually speak at home with your parents?

N- English.

I- With your brothers and sisters?

N- English

I-What about your parents, what language do they usually use?

N- Mainly English and some Greek.

I-When you have Greek friends visiting you, what language do you speak?

N- English and sometimes Greek. (Nicole, student, pilot study)

In a study conducted by Papapavlou & Pavlou (2001) on the linguistic identity of UK Greek-Cypriots, they report that 'the dominant language of 67.7% of the

²⁸ This is further explored and illustrated through interview and survey data during the main study.

participants is English'. A similar phenomenon, of English home language is reported in the study of Francis et al. (2010) where it is argued that the increasing third generation of children of Chinese heritage are less likely to speak Chinese at home (their parents may have limited Chinese language abilities themselves). What seems to be in common with other similar studies (Creese et al., 2007; Martin et al., 2006; Brinton et al., 2008) is that the community schools are often regarded as language schools. Heritage language maintenance seems to be the main aim of this kind of community education. However, there seems to be a reported inconsistency between the community's and State's aims (learning and maintaining heritage language) and the reported family practices (English home language). This inconsistency will be explored further during the main study but it may also be attributed to the interview effect or the effect of symbolic power of language.

Language and Symbolic Power

As argued in Chapter 4 (§5.2), power permeates the relation interviewer-interviewee. Following that argument, the interviewees sometimes want to give the 'correct' answers to the interviewer, especially if they feel that the researcher holds a superior position in the hierarchy of capital. This means that the participants might regard me both as a community teacher-researcher and respond according to what feels as the 'right' answer. Their answers might be consistent with 'the image that the interviewee wishes to give to others and to themselves' (Bourdieu, 1996: 25). Therefore, what the participants report as the role of the community school, thus 'language development and maintenance', could be the representation of what they have in mind as the 'right' answer and/or it could be inconsistency between reported expectations and family practices.

Another possible interpretation is that the participants might reproduce the State's ideologies about language maintenance as these are imposed through the curriculum and the political representatives that visit the school. The presence of state might be accentuated by the fact that my role as a community teacher is associated with the State as I am a civil servant. Therefore, the depicted

contradiction could partly be the result of the 'imposition effect' (Bourdieu, 1996: 20) of my presence as researcher and the power that underpins the relationship between interviewer-interviewee.

As Weiss (1994:148) argues, 'while we as interviewers can anticipate that we will be told the truth, we cannot assume that we will be told the truth'. This does not necessarily mean that the participants are lying, but that their responses could be affected by a number of other factors. For instance, a number of studies have indicated that some factors such as age (Herzog & Rogers, 1988), social and educational status (Lanski & Leggett, 1960), or even gender have an effect on how the interviewees respond. Moreover, as Talja (1999: 464) argues 'variation and inconsistency seen in the extracts is not an exception, nor is it a product of the interview situation'. People might hold different views on the same topic depending on the context where it is discussed. This could possibly mean that the participants might actually expect that the school will maintain the heritage language despite following different home family practices.

During research the difference in dynamic power positions is always present. As Van Maanen (2011: 4) stresses, 'ethnographies are politically mediated, since the power of one group to represent another is always involved'. Despite a number of precautions and measures that are taken, such as rapport, anonymity and ethical considerations, the researcher may not always eliminate the effect of power. Thus, acknowledgment of power during the analysis maybe one of ethnography's limitation, but at the same time it is also a way of securing 'accurate' interpretations, thus 'done with care' (Fusco's, 2008:163) (Chapter 4 §4). In this view, by acknowledging the effect of power relations I aim at collecting and presenting the variety of 'truths' (Denzin, 1997) that operate within the social world of Greek diasporic community education.

As Foucault (1980: 133) argues,

'it is not a matter of emancipating truth from every system of power (which would be a chimera, for truth is already power) but of detaching the power

of truth from the forms of hegemony, social, economic and cultural, within which it operates at the same time’.

While acknowledging the power relations another sign of power and symbolic language emerged during the interview with the head teacher. The head-teacher, who usually addresses me in a non-formal way using the singular you (εσύ-esi/ equivalent of *tu* in French), during the interview he employed the plural of politeness whenever he was addressing me (εσείς- esis- equivalent of *vous* in French).

As Bourdieu asserts ‘every speaker is a producer and a consumer’ (1991: 82) with a linguistic habitus affected by the forms of capital that s/he is endowed by her/his social class, gender, educational/life experiences, etc. This linguistic habitus can take different forms depending on the power relations that exist within a specific field or market. Legitimate competence may produce a profit of distinction and respectively lack of this competence may condemn the speaker to silence or exclusion. During every day school interactions the power relations favour the head-teacher in reference to my role as a schoolteacher. During the interview, my role as a researcher changed the existing power relations. Moreover, the use of the audio-recorder functioned as a symbol of my power; as Bourdieu puts it ‘I was the holder of the skeptron’ (1991:113) and as a symbol of power it exercised an effect because it was recognised as such. Evident of that is that after I switched-off the recorder, the head-teacher switched to non-formal speaking. As Bourdieu (1996: 25) stresses, ‘in a number of interviews the social relation between the respondent and the researcher produces a very powerful effect of censorship, accentuated by the tape-recorder’.

In view of the above, I would argue that the participants’ reported perceptions on language as the main aim of Greek community school might be related to: their aspirations/expectations; reproduction of curriculum’s/State’s ideologies; the effect of interview; and/or to the effect of symbolic power of language and power relations. In the main study and through the parental voices I will be in a position to explore further the relation between language and community school.

Language, Identity and Post-colonialism

Another element that the participants highlighted was the issue of language maintenance/loss in relation to issues of identity. Both, the head teacher and Mrs. Elena argue that language is a distinctive marker of Greek identity: 'our language is who we are' (Mrs. Elena); 'our language is our roots; it defines where you come from' (Head teacher). Interestingly, both participants use the possessive adjective 'our' to denote ownership and respectively membership to the greater Greek-speaking community. As McEntee and Pouloukas (2001: 23) argue, in Cyprus 'the national codes (Greek and Greek-Cypriot) are dominant and are considered as markers of national identity and belonging' (Chapter 2 §4.b). Given that both participants are first generation Greek-Cypriots born/raised in Cyprus, they might reproduce an ideology where language is regarded as marker of identity. The participants do not limit these perceptions to mainland communities but also expand it and apply it to the greater Greek community in London.

They argue that language is also a distinctive marker of the Greek community in London and as such it defines membership and belonging both to the diasporic and mainland community. More explicitly, the head-teacher stresses '*I am confident that our language will be maintained despite the problems that emerge from succession of generations... in the 3rd and 4th generation the bond with their roots is weakening but language can support it*'. Similarly, Mrs. Elena reports, '*when the children learn and speak the language they feel more attached to the Hellenic nation...especially when they visit Cyprus and they are able to communicate effectively in Greek*'. The head-teacher reports confidently on the issue of language maintenance. Moreover, both participants stress that language will foster the students' sense of belonging to the Greek community (mainland and diasporic). Thus, language is reported as an inclusive factor that may affirm or reaffirm the community members' identity. It is reported as a medium that functions both communicatively -*communicate effectively*- and symbolically -*bond with their roots, more attached to the Hellenic nation*.

In bilingual and bicultural contexts, heritage language maintenance or loss is often associated with the acculturation paths that the minority community follows (assimilation, integration, marginalization or separation- Berry's model, 1997). However, it should be acknowledged that this is a process permeated by power relations between the dominant and heritage language and thus a process related to hegemonic ideologies. Gibbons and Ramirez (2004: 4) define minority-language maintenance as 'an attempt to resist the cultural power of languages that are spoken by a majority of the population, and/or languages that are, for some reason, socially dominant'. In this view, the community school may be regarded as a field of resistance where the minority group struggles for recognition of its linguistic (and maybe ethnic) identity over the hegemonic dominant English environment. Given that Cyprus is a former British colony, the aspect of resistance becomes even more complicated and raises issues of postcolonial domination.

As Gilbert and Tompkins (1996: 164) argue,

'language is one of the most basic markers of colonial authority... part of imperialism's project has been to impose the English language on colonised subjects in an endeavour to control them more completely'.

A similar phenomenon of imposing the coloniser's language is also reported in Cyprus. As Hatjioannou et al. (2011: 507) suggest, during 1878–1960 (when Cyprus was a British colony), 'English has also been used in various realms of public life in the Republic of Cyprus, including the courts of law, various civic services and many fields of private enterprise'. As regards the contemporary linguistic practices, they add that

'though English is still used residually in the public sector, the translation of the Cyprus Law in 1995, combined with a series of policy decisions which, at face value, sought to enforce constitutional provisions on language, led to Greek becoming the only language used in the courts and in the civil service' (ibid).

Despite the fact that Cyprus has become an independent nation since 1960 the postcolonial effect of valuing the coloniser's dominant and hegemonic language is still evident in the public sector. In Goutsos' (2001: 216) study it is reported that 'English was present in roughly one-fifth of the total interactions in the recorded conversations'. Moreover, Ioannou (1991) and Karoulla-Vrikkis (1991) suggest that there is three-way code-switching by many Greek-Cypriot speakers between Standard Modern Greek, Cypriot Greek and English' (in Goutsos, 2001: 199).

In this view, it is also possible that English home language as reported earlier by the student-participant, might be another dimension of imposing the English language to post-colonised communities. One of the practices that facilitate imposition is the monolingual aspect of British education (Chapter 1 §4) where minority community languages are not always acknowledged within mainstream education. Therefore, minority languages are legitimised and recognised only within the limited lieu of community education. In this view, community education functions as a 'facilitating voice to the silent ones while remaining invisible' (Kothari, 1998: 36).

Mrs. Elena raises this issue by stressing that *'our language needs to become part of mainstream education because it will be maintained only through the English educational system'*. On the same issue, Li Wei advocates a *compromised* structure that would include both mainstream and community schools. He (2006: 79) argues that,

'ideally, the needs of the immigrant and ethnic minority children and their communities can be accommodated within the mainstream school system, and there would be no need for separate or additional schooling for these children'.

However, it is often unfeasible to acknowledge the majority of minority cultures and languages within a multilingual and multicultural environment such as London. As Stubbs (1994: 207) maintains, 'schools had always been the most powerful mechanism in assimilating minority children into mainstream

cultures'. I argue that the *compromised* structure proposed by Li Wei could be idealistic for the minority communities but not necessarily compatible with the British monolingual hegemonic practices. Consequently, the family and the community school will bear the responsibility for a struggle over linguistic recognition.

Given that a struggle for recognition requires that the under-represented community recognises the unequal distribution of cultural and/or economic capital, it is only then that they will be able to fight against that misrepresentation. Alternatively, this will be a euphemistic struggle, restricted to superficial practices that serve and reproduce the dominant assimilation policies (e.g. attending community education without aspiring to speak/use the heritage language). This could also be an effect of post-colonialism where the former colonised still values and respects the former coloniser. All these aspects of power, colonialism and language hegemonies will be further addressed in the main study.

Language and Dialect

The other sub-category that emerged under the main category of language was dialect in reference to identity. The theoretical background suggested dialect as an element that might be related to identity (Chapter 2 §4.a, 4.b). Background research also indicates a relation between the Greek-Cypriot dialect and aspects of ethnic/national and political identity (Ioannou, 1991; Karoulla- Vrikkis, 1991; Panayiotou, 1996; Papadakis, 1999 and Papapavlou & Pavlou, 1998 et al.) Moreover, there were also parts of the performance and the script that raised my attention to the issue of dialect.

More explicitly, the students' performance included Greek-Cypriot dialect elements during the eighth act of the play. In this scene, Evagoras' parents visit him in prison. It is worth noting that this is the only part of the play that the students perform in this linguistic variety. Even Evagoras, who used Standard Modern Greek in the rest of the play, switched to the Cypriot dialect for this act.

It is mainly in the father's discourse that we can detect the use of Greek-Cypriot dialect. Pavlou & Papapavlou (2004: 248) identify four main differences between the dominant variety of Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and the Greek-Cypriot dialect (GCD):

'phonological alterations that do not occur in SMG;

morphological differences such as the an epenthetic e- prefix in the past tense, a different 3rd person plural ending and use of final -n in the accusative that occur in GCD;

in the syntax the position of clitics; and

in semantics/lexicon where a number of GCD words are borrowings from other languages'.

All four differences are present in the lines of Evagora's father. More explicitly, the GCD extracts of the play include the following characteristics:

-phonological: *μάθκια* [mathkia] instead of SMG *μάτια* [matia] (eyes), *παράκκα* [parakka] instead of SMG *παράγκα* [paraga] (shanty)

-morphological: *επήρεν* [eperen] instead of *πήρε* [pere] (epenthetic e- prefix in the past tense)

-syntax: *επήρεν με παράμερα* [eperen mee paramera] instead of *με πήρε παράμερα* [mee pere paramera]

-semantics/lexicon: *δικλάς* [diklas] and *σίκλαν* [seklan] instead of SMG *κοιτάς* [ketas] (look) and *κουβάς* [kouvass](bucket).

Mrs. Elena, who wrote the play, argues on the use of GCD variety for the family dialogue: *'the Greek [refers to Standard Modern Greek] should have supremacy over the Cypriot. Because Greek is the official language; the one they learn at school. I use the dialect in this part because I found this dialogue in an authentic historical document. If I were to use Greek it would not have been the same....the spectator would not believe in it'*

Two interesting elements emerge from the above extract: the issue of status and power between the two varieties (SMG and GCD) and the issue of a lifelike, natural and believable performance. As regards the performing aspect, the

author employs the medium of dialect to create a representational performance that could foster *make believe conditions* for the audience. 'Make believe performances maintain a clearly marked boundary between the world of the performance and everyday reality' (Schechner, 2002: 35).

As Neelands (2000: 2) argues,

'in theatre, the representational mode includes "realist" or "naturalist" styles of theatre in which the actors appear to be actually inhabiting the drama world presented on stage'.

This representational mode facilitates unquestionable acceptance of stage events. In this view, it also encourages the community to accept the historical narrative as natural and to 'identify with all those, all through time, who have been in this situation, for whom the underlying significance of the experience is similar' (Wagner, 1999: 42).

It is through this natural, unquestionable and ritualistic experience that the community might affirm and/or reaffirm aspects of Greek identity. As Castells (2000: 6-7) argues, 'identity is the construction of meaning which is rooted in experience'. Therefore, the authenticity of the text along with the naturalistic representation might aim at fostering identification with the national hero and respectively the national/historical discourses. As stressed in the previous analysis on religion, given the institutional character of this performance, the school stage functions as a lieu for the reproduction of national hegemonic ideologies. As such, it aims at unquestionable representations that will facilitate imposition of nation-state hegemony. This is in line with Apple's arguments (1990, 1995) that schools are cultural as well as economical institutions that impose hegemony by representing aspects of a collective culture as objective, factual knowledge and by legitimising unquestioned truths.

Moreover, the ritualistic character of these performances should also be acknowledged. As Schechner (2002: 38) argues, performances are both efficacious and entertaining and some of their functions focus on 'marking or

changing identity; making or fostering community; and teaching'. Therefore, the efficacious aspect of this act could be to present a ritualistic performance that through the use of an authentic dialect-dialogue will facilitate identification.

Lastly, another dimension of the use of dialect might be related to the anti-colonial struggle, which is the theme of the play. As stressed earlier, the use of heritage language can be interpreted as an act of resistance to the cultural power of another dominant language. The colonial English discourse is challenged when the colonisers fight using their own national code. The national language or dialect might also function as markers of the nation and respectively of the national identity; what is often reported as 'the equation of one language/one people' (Woolard & Scheffelin, 1994: 61). Thus, the use of the dialect within the anti-colonial context could be interpreted as the similarity that differentiates Us from the Other. As such it symbolises the Cypriot's struggle of resistance against the dominant language of the coloniser Other.

An oxymoron emerges if we consider the linguistic practices of the two eras: the colonial and the post-colonial. During the colonial period, the Greek-Cypriot dialect and the Greek language symbolise the resistance and the struggle for recognition. In the post-colonial era, there is a reported language shift: the former colonised borrows the linguistic capital of the former coloniser (see earlier discussion on Language and Symbolic Power). Given that 'linguistic borrowing might appear superficially to indicate speakers' high regard for the donor language' (Woolard & Scheffelin, 1994: 62), this language shift signals the coloniser's power maintenance even after the end of colonialism. This is the effect of neo-colonialism.

As Childs and Williams (1997: 5) stress,

'in the period after decolonisation, it rapidly became apparent (to the newly independent nations, at least) that although colonial armies and bureaucracies might have withdrawn, the colonial powers were still intent on maintaining maximum indirect control over erstwhile colonies via

political, cultural and above all economical channels, a phenomenon which became known as neo-colonialism’.

As regards the state of Cyprus, Knapp & Antoniadou (2002) and Panayiotopoulos (1999) stress that the decolonisation of Cyprus is more identified with neo-colonialism than with post-colonialism. Their argument is grounded on a number of political, economical and cultural factors. Most notably, Panayiotopoulos (1999: 50) suggests that

‘if there is an objective basis for ‘Cypriotness’, rather than a desirable and invented identity, then this has to be firmly located in the experience of British colonialism and its consequences... the anti-colonial movement and the emergence of the independent Republic’.

One reminder of this neo-colonial British implicit rule is the New Commonwealth Cypriot emigration to the UK ‘and the high concentration of Cypriots in the Greater London area’ (Panayiotopoulos, *ibid*). In this view, the use and ascribed value to the English language by the Greek-Cypriots may be interpreted as a possible effect of the post- and neo-colonial indirect British control. Further exploration of the community members’ perceptions and/or linguistic practices will be addressed in the main study.

The other element that emerged was the status of the dialect in reference to Standard Modern Greek. Both the language of the play and Mrs. Elena’s earlier argument are not limited to the symbolic power of the Cypriot dialect. Mrs. Elena stressed that she recognises ‘*supremacy*’ of the ‘*official*’ Standard Modern Greek variety. In line with this argument, the head-teacher commented that the dialect is not and ‘*should not be*’ of equal status to Standard Modern Greek. He also added, ‘*The Greek language is only one, however there is a plethora of Greek dialects*’.

As Bourdieu argues (1991: 47) ‘promotion of the official language to the status of national language gave to the members of bourgeoisie that de facto monopoly of politics’. In order to maintain and reproduce this monopoly they employed the

educational system in order to devalue all regional dialects and to impose recognition of the legitimate language. In Mrs. Elena's extract one could depict the recognition of Standard Modern Greek as a legitimate language '*the one they learn at school*'. In the head-teacher's extract there is trace of devaluation: '*a plethora of Greek dialects*'. The recognition/devaluation stem from the fact that the Standard variety is the language employed by the educational system. Through the educational institutions it is imposed and legitimised as the official state-language.

Another element that should be addressed is the relation between these language ideologies and the respective political and national dimensions. From the theoretical background and the analysis on the theme of religion, it emerged that the EOKA fight (theme of the performance) included an anti-colonial discourse and the struggle for self-determination and enosis (union with Greece). This struggle was closely linked to the authority of the Greek Cypriot Orthodox Church' that strengthened this nationalist movement (Panayiotopoulos, 1999: 40). As Papadakis (1999: 151) stresses,

'EOKA's political wing was led by Archbishop Makarios and its military section by General Grivas, a Greek Cypriot with a fierce anticommunist record from the Greek Civil War'.

In this view, the anti-colonial fight probably embraced both the Church's and the right-wing ideologies. Papadakis (1999) also stresses that right-wing ideologies are grounded on nationalist 'grand' narratives of a greater Hellenic-Christian ideal and pure Greekness. As such, these narratives respectively value more the pure Hellenic/Greek one language than the dialects.

Therefore, the participants' reported perceptions about the supremacy of Standard Modern Greek might also be related to right-wing political ideologies that envisaged unification with Greece. Given that the same participants expressed strong arguments on the issue of Enosis (Chapter 5 §2 field notes analysis), I argue that their reports on the supremacy of SMG and their reports on Enosis are possibly related to relevant right political ideologies.

In summary of the above, the issue of language within the performance, the community school and the diasporic Greek-Cypriot community in London is probably related to a variety of identity positions. It is permeated by a complexity of power relations that engage two languages (English and Greek) and two varieties (SMG and GCD). Moreover, it is related to the anti-colonial struggle as much as with the neo-colonial state in Cyprus and the Greek-Cypriot minority state in Britain. Lastly, it raises our attention to political ideologies that in the past informed the anti-colonial fight and in the present inform aspects of national/ethnic identity. All these elements will be further explored during the main study.

2. The Main Study

a. Field notes

During the main study, the theme of language emerged in a variety of ways. Firstly, while the students were preparing the play they questioned the value of translating the script and their lines in English. Secondly, in the class interactions the students employed mainly English as a communicative medium but their speech acts were also enriched by Greek and Greek-Cypriot words or phrases. Therefore, the field notes suggest two sub-categories on language: language and the performance and language in the classroom. These sub-categories along with background theory and the pilot analysis informed language/dialect related questions that were addressed through interviews and the student survey.

Language and the Performance

As regards the aspects of language in relation to the performance the first incident is recorded on the 1st February 2012 between the educator/author of the play and one of the two educators whose classes participated in the performance:

Mrs.Elena: *'The language and the adaptation of the play should be as close as possible to the original one because I wrote it based on historical documents'.*

...

Mr. Kostas: *'We should be trusted to do the adaptation based on our students' needs and competence in Greek. We know better than anyone else what our students are capable to perform well'* (Field notes, 01/02/12).

Two elements emerge related to the language of the play: the first is the issue of authenticity and the second is the students' competence in heritage language. The former is a repeated pattern that has already been analysed in the pilot study and the analysis of religion. As I stressed in these parts of the analysis, the persistence on a lifelike, authentic and believable representational performance aims at creating naturalistic and unquestionable conditions that could foster identification with the respective ideological representations. It may be regarded as part of a nationalistic institutionalised discourse and practice.

The latter issue is associated with the students' linguistic capital in the heritage language. Mr. Kostas questions the linguistic adaptation of the play by arguing that the language of the play should not be aligned with the 'historical authentic language' but with the language that the students understand and *'are capable to perform well'*. Both approaches, Mrs. Elena's and Mr. Kostas, aim at establishing the grounds for a good performance. The former approach regards the 'good performance' from the institution's perspective, thus to meet and maintain authentic historical ideologies. On the contrary, Mr. Kostas' approach is closer to child-centred pedagogies that acknowledge and value the students' needs and linguistic competence.

As Jackson (2004: 9) stresses,

'so-called "progressive" and "child-centred" views of education were influenced by ideas from the Romantic movement and emphasised the idea of drawing knowledge out of children, rather than filling them up with it'.

However, it was Mrs. Elena's approach that prevailed. That approach placed greater emphasis on the institution's needs for a naturalised representation while disregarded the students' competence in accommodating this representation linguistically.

This approach gave birth to new problems when the teachers had to cast the roles. The following incident depicts the teachers' criteria for the role casting:

'The two teachers decided that they should *'cast these roles to Greek-phone (ελληνόφωνους) students'*, thus students who have good competence in Greek and *'they can speak the language'*. Mr. Kostas commented, *'the students should also have supportive families, parents who will help them learn their lines'* (Field notes, 04/02/12). The difficulty that arose from the 'authentic historical' language was addressed with remedies that discriminated the students into categories: 'Greek-phone and non-Greek-phone students' and/or 'students with supportive and less supportive families'. This discrimination is not in line with the pedagogy of theatre as it jeopardises the students' self-esteem and reproduces inequalities.

As Bourdieu and Apple assert, educational institutions systematically produce and/or reproduce unequal distribution of capital. This approach involves a mechanism that fixes the value of specific qualifications –e.g. competence in the heritage language- in order to create and sustain inequalities. Through such an approach 'it enables those who benefit most from the system to convince themselves of their own intrinsic worthiness, while preventing those who benefit least from grasping the basis of their own deprivation' (Bourdieu, 1991:25). In this view, the students who have a good competence in the Greek language will perform big roles in Greek and will reaffirm their own intrinsic worthiness. Conversely, students with a limited linguistic competence will be prevented from big roles, thus will be prevented from studying and performing a rich source of Greek language, which is the basis of their own deprivation. This aspect will be explored further during the interviews so as to gain an insight into the teachers' perspectives and criteria on role casting.

Another interesting element that emerged during the fieldwork was the students' response to the language of the play. The teacher of the class followed an approach that aimed at helping the students to understand the content of the play and the meaning of their lines. However, the students did not accept this

practice unproblematically. This could be the result of the competence-discrimination approaches that the teachers followed regarding role casting. Moreover, it could also be related to a number of other issues such as the students' perceptions regarding the role of national celebrations, the role of community school or even the students' past performance experiences within the Greek community school. More explicitly, the following incident portrays the students' challenging perceptions regarding the value of translating the script:

'Elena- Why do we need to know the meaning of our lines? This is not a lesson.

Maria- So as to know what it means. You need to know what you are saying.

(Audio Recorded Classroom Field Notes, 29/02/12)

Elena not only challenges the worth of translating the script but also makes a clear distinction between the performance and the lesson. Her argument could be related to the efficacious and/or teaching/learning character of these performances. Both parents and students often question art-based learning. This questioning results in misinterpretations of the potential of drama as a learning medium despite the fact that many scholars have argued that the entertaining and efficacious/learning theatre aspects do not have to be mutually exclusive (Jackson, 2005). As Brecht (1936:3) has argued, 'the contrast between learning and amusing oneself is not laid down by divine rule'. Nevertheless, Elena does not regard these performances as part of the learning process and questions the teacher's approach to translate the script.

Another possible interpretation is that the students are familiar with performing (or even) parroting incomprehensible lines on stage. In this view, it is strange for them to put an extra effort in understanding and learning the content/meaning of their lines. The students' lack of understanding as regards the performances has also emerged during the pilot study. The head teacher stressed during the interview, *'I always instruct the teachers to explain and translate the plays and poems to the students. However, when they are on stage I can always understand whether the student actually knows the meaning of his/her lines'*. Similarly, Mrs. Elena argued, *'I always translate the lines to my students, otherwise they cannot perform well...but there are teachers who don't and then you see students on stage*

parroting their lines'. This reported lack of understanding has implications not only for the aesthetic quality of the performance but also for the ethno-cultural negotiation process. If the students do not understand the content/context of these performances, then their agency is limited in understanding and/or questioning the ethno-cultural ideologies that are embedded in these performances. This is an issue that will be explored further through the interviews but there are also recorded incidents in the field notes that support the students' lack of understanding despite translation.

'Fanoula tries to translate her lines but she cannot translate them accurately. She seems confused.

Teacher- *What does filak'i (prison) mean?*

Fanoula- *Is it the kiss?*

Teacher- *No, that is fil'aki.*

Maria- *It is the prison.* (Audio Recorded Classroom Field Notes, 29/02/12)

'After the end of the national celebration, some students returned to their classes while shouting rhythmically 'Matania ine ellatiki' from 'E Macedonia ine Elliniki' (Macedonia is Greek). The students did not really know what they were saying and actually what they were shouting was a wrong repetition of the slogan they have heard. When they asked what the phrase means, the teacher gave them the right pronunciation and tried to explain the meaning. They continued repeating it in their own way with their fists raised'. (Performance Field Notes 24/03/12).

The first incident in the classroom gives evidence of the students' limited linguistic understanding regarding their lines. Fanoula has learnt her lines off by heart and she was able to repeat them accurately despite the fact that she missed the basic meaning-structure of her lines (she understands prison as kiss). The second incident raises serious concerns as regards the repetition and possibly endorsement of nationalistic ideologies. The students unquestionably repeat (even in a mistaken pronunciation) a slogan they copied from the national celebration. This slogan has an intense political and nationalistic background as it is related with

‘the “Macedonian Controversy” (the question of who had the right to call themselves or others Macedonians) and the question of diversity within and between communities residing in a territory so named’ (Cowan, 2000: x).

This incident possibly reveals the schools’ positive attitude in embracing and manifesting nationalistic ideologies. Moreover, it indicates that the ritualistic nature of these performances encourages the students to accept and naturalise these ideologies, despite the fact that they do not necessarily understand them. As repeated earlier in the religion analysis, these performances are strongly associated with ritual performances.

More explicitly, the power of the slogan ‘Macedonia is Greek’ is not measured by its truth-value,

‘but by the power of mobilization that it contains, in other words, by the power of the group that recognises it...a power that the group can demonstrate by registering its different voices or assembling them all together in the same space’ (Bourdieu, 1991: 190).

It is the authority of the space, the person and the act that establish the symbolic efficacy of this slogan. There is a complex mechanism of authorisation and legitimisation where the State authorises the educational institution to re/produce specific ideologies and this authorisation ensures ‘the legitimate servers and receivers’ (ibid: 116). In this view, during these ritual institutional performances ‘the symbolic efficacy of words is exercised only in so far as the person subjected to it recognises the person who exercises it as authorised to do so’ (ibid).

Lastly, two more incidents in the classroom indicated the students’ positive stance towards exploring history through the language of the national celebration performance:

Constantinos-[he translates his lines] *‘next time that you see me I might be dead’.*

Elena- *‘Ohhhhhhh, that is so sad.’*

Constantinos- *But he is fighting. So he might get killed.*

Natasha- *Why they did not stop him?*

Teacher-Everybody was dreaming freedom. So, they were willing to die for the freedom of their country. They were dreaming of freedom and unification with Greece.

Maria- Like 'ἐλευθερία ή θάνατος' [freedom or death was the motto of the Greek Independence Revolution 1821] (Audio Recorded Classroom Field Notes, 29/02/12)

'The teacher explains the symbolic use of the word 'κλέφτες' (kleftes-thieves) in the play.

Teacher- In 1821, during the Greek revolution the Greek soldiers went to the mountains to organise their fight and war against the Turks. And they were called 'kleftes kai armatoloi'. Kleftis today means thief, the person who steals. But when we are talking in the play about 'kleftes' we mean a hero, a fighter like those heroes of 1821. So, do not get confused.

Maria- What was the other word?

Teacher-Kleftes kai armatoloi.

Maria- What does it mean?

Teache-Armata are the guns, weapons that these soldiers carried. So they were named after that.

Maria-Oh, I see. So, they were the fighters who had guns in the mountains, not real thieves. (Audio Recorded Classroom Field Notes, 03/03/12)

Both incidents indicate a close relation between language and history exploration. More interestingly, both historical references associate the anti-colonial struggle of Cyprus with the Greek independent fight for Independence. It is as if the teacher tries to establish the historical Hellenic continuum between Cyprus and Greece. This continuity is related both to the dual semantics of the Cypriot struggle (decolonisation and unification) as much as with the dual national celebration performance (celebrating 1st April and 25th March on the same occasion). However, as pointed earlier in the analysis (Chapter 5) the students reported that they associate the national celebration of 1st April only with the anti-colonial struggle while neglected the aspect of Enosis. This was attributed to possible 'selective tradition' (Williams, 1980) family practices.

Moreover, the students' discourse indicates emotional involvement with the experiences of the main character. They share and empathise with the hero's sacrifice '*Ohhhhhhh, that is so sad*'. The fact that the story of the performance is presented as a naturalised unquestionable historical truth facilitates this emotional involvement and possible identification. This is also an element of a naturalised ritualistic performance. These historical aspects may also be related

to nationalistic ideologies and as such they are going to be addressed in more details in a separate part of the analysis. However, the fact that language, history and national ideologies coexist in the students' accounts shows once more the complexity of the field under research. As repeated earlier it is often hard to isolate these parameters and analyse them separately. Nevertheless, for the purposes of analytical convenience I try to impose an analytical framework that presents them under isolated headings.

In summary of the above, the language of the performance is associated with a variety of issues, such as the students' competence in the heritage language; their attitudes towards the language of the play; and their stance towards the historical elements that are embedded in the symbolic use of the language. The participants' reported perceptions during the interviews and the student survey data will function as additional insights in the language issues.

Language in the Classroom-Code switching

As regards the language in the classroom, what is evident from the recorded field data is that the main language of instruction and communication is English. However, the speech acts are enriched by Greek and Greek-Cypriot utterances. In this view, there is a reported code-switch between two languages (English and Greek) and two varieties (Standard Modern Greek and Greek Cypriot Dialect). What seems to be more interesting is the situational use of each language and each variety.

Code-switching refers to 'the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems' (Gumperz, 1982: 59). I employ it here as an umbrella term to refer to a speaker's use of two languages (English-Greek) or two varieties (SMG & GCD) in a single speech event. In the literature one can find a plethora of terms referring to this or similar phenomena, such as language choice, code alteration, conversational code switching or diglossia. However, the latter, 'first proposed by Ferguson (1959), refers to a type of societal bilingualism that is relatively stable and involves two codes that are historically related but hierarchically

differentiated by domain and function' (Garrett, 2004: 54). As regards specifically code switching, it can be intrasentential, where the alternate use of two languages/varieties occurs below sentential boundaries, within the same sentence; or intersentential where it occurs between sentences (Macswan, 2012: 323). Both forms of code switching appeared in the classroom data.

More explicitly, the following extract from a class interaction indicates the interplay between the two languages from the students' perspective:

1. Teacher- *Μαρία, πες μας στα ελληνικά αν μπορείς, τι ξέρεις για τον Ευαγόρα Παλληκαρίδη;* [Maria tell us in Greek if you can, what do you know about Evagoras Pallikarides?]
2. Maria- *Ήταν ένας στρατιώτης στον πόλεμο.* [He was a soldier in the war].
Was it with the Turks or with the English?
3. Teacher- *Με τους Άγγλους.* [With the British.]
4. (The teacher mostly speaks Greek in the classroom but often she translates her questions in English. Sometimes, she uses only English with students who have limited competence in Greek. She differentiates her linguistic approach depending on the student).
5. Maria- *And then he died in the war.* (Audio Recorded Classroom Field Notes, 08/02/12)

In line 1 the teacher employs the Greek language for posing a question to a specific student who has good competence in Greek. Then, she encourages the student to reply using the same language.

As Baker (2006:296) notes,

'a teacher's language choice tends to be more child-centred as which language to use and when and reflects: (1) the teacher's strong preference and lead, (2) a student's proficiency or preference, or (3) a negotiation between teacher and child'.

The student's utterance, line 2, reflects that negotiation and its structure is based on two languages. At the beginning, Maria responds to the teacher's request and she uses Greek but then she switches to English. Similarly, in line 4, when the student completes the answer she maintains English. The student's interplay between the two languages is strictly differentiated, as the two languages do not get mixed within the same sentence, thus this extract is identified more with

intersentential code switching. Instead, she resorts to Greek for the first sentence (line 2) and to English for the other two (lines 2 & 4). However, in other instances this clear differentiation and distinction between the two languages does not occur. The following recorded incident is an example of that form of code-switch:

6. Maria- *My great-great παππούς [grandfather] and my παππούς μου τωρά [my grandfather now] they were helping those in φυλακή, prison. And my παππούς was in EOKA and he got caught and they put him in prison.* (Audio Recorded Classroom Field Notes, 08/02/12)

In the second extract, the same student resorts to both languages and both varieties while sharing elements of her personal family history. She employs the Greek word *παππούς* [papous-grandfather] when referring to extended family members; the Greek word *φυλακή* [filake-prison] that she simultaneously translates in English; and the word *τωρά* [tor'a-now] with a Greek-Cypriot pronunciation (in Greek the word is pronounced τώρα-τ'ora). In this instance intrasentential code switching occurs, where the two languages and two varieties are employed simultaneously. A number of other classroom discourses also indicate that the majority of the students use the relevant Greek words when referring to family members. For instance:

7. Fanoula- *My γιαγιά [yiayia-grandmother] had a young brother and he was killed in that war.* (08/02/12)
8. Antonis- *Miss, you know about EOKA, my παππού [pappou-grandfather] told me that he was chased and he got shot on his leg but he escaped and he got away.* (11/02/12)
9. Iasonas - *My γιαγιά's [grandmother's] brother got shot and I think he died in that war.* (11/02/12) [Audio Recorded Classroom Field Notes]

In the field notes, there was only one recorded incident where a student employed the English family-word instead of the Greek (line 12). In all other occasions the students used the Greek words when referring to family members.

12. Natasha- *My dad's grand-dad or great grand-dad, I am not sure was in EOKA.* (Audio Recorded Classroom Field Notes, 08/02/12)

The students follow the same linguistic practice not only for family members, but also for religious related issues. Instead of using the English words for Jesus, God

and Virgin Mary, they mostly prefer to use the Greek words *Χριστός*, *Θεός*, *Παναγία*.

18. Maria- *So Θεός* [God] *can protect you.* (29/02/12)

19. Iasonas- *It is about Παναγία* [Virgin Mary] *and the message that she will have Χριστούλης* [Little Christ] (18/03/12) [Audio Recorded Classroom Field Notes]

Blom and Gumperz (1972) have proposed a distinction between situational and metaphorical code switching. As Woolard (2004: 75-76) explains, in the former 'a change of language signals a change in the definition of the speech event, where in metaphorical this change does not signal a change in the definition of the fundamental speech event'. The students' code switching is closer to metaphorical than to situational. Situational alterations are more commonly identified with diglossia's situational switching, e.g. use of the Cypriot dialect, where

'distinct varieties are employed in certain settings (such as home, school, work) associated with separate bounded kinds of activities (public speaking, formal negotiations, special ceremonials, verbal games, etc.) or spoken with different categories of speakers (friends, family members, strangers, social inferiors, government officials)' (Gumperz, 1977: 2).

However, the use of Greek words to name family relatives or religious issues could partly be identified with situational switching. In this case using Greek becomes the 'expected medium' (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 89); and 'it is expected because it has been used most frequently in such contexts' (Woolard, 2004: 80). The students have heard these Greek words frequently within the family and for this reason they might encode Greek as the expected medium to name family members. Similarly within the church, family or community school they have learnt religious terms in Greek and they are 'expected' to use them accordingly in such contexts. As Bakhtin (1981: 293) argues about the social nature of language, 'each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life'.

The other form of code-switch that emerged from the students' utterances was between English and the Cypriot dialect:

13. Ellie- Πρώτον, δεν μου αρέσει η βασίλισσα γιατί πρέπει να **πλερώνουμε**²⁹ **πολύ** tax [Firstly, I don't like the queen because we have to pay a lot of tax] και εκείνη δεν κάνει τίποτε, κάθεται **δαμέ**, **εν** τεμπέλισσα. [and she just sits there doing nothing, she is lazy]. *And second of all, δεν διαβάζει τα γράμματα και young children θα πεθάνουσι γιατί **εβαρκέτου** να διαβάσει ένα γράμμα.* [And second of all, she doesn't read the letters and young children will die because she was bored to read the letter]. (Audio Recorded Classroom Field Notes, 03/03/12³⁰)

In Ellie's extract (line 13) the intrasentential code-switch is clear as the sentence begins with Greek, it is enriched with Greek-Cypriot idioms (e.g. πλερώνουμε) and lastly it is completed or supplemented by English. Baker (2006: 111) stresses that speakers might substitute in another language a word or a phrase they do not know as 'bilinguals use different languages in different domains of their lives'. So Ellie's language choices might indicate strong and weak points in the heritage language, depending on the domains that she uses it. Code-switching may, but does not necessarily, indicate lack of competence. Speakers do not only resort to code-switching to compensate for lack of language proficiency. This usually results from complex bilingual skills 'as varied as the directions from which linguists approach this issue, and raise many sociological, psychological, and grammatical questions' (Milroy & Wei, 1995).

The students' strategy to code-switch may be related to cognitive factors, such as knowledge/competence of the two languages, e.g. they do not know the word or it is more difficult to retrieve it in Greek. Moreover, as Rational Choice models suggest, it is the 'ability of the speaker to behave rationally and to choose linguistic varieties according to a sort of 'cost-benefit analysis' (Wei, 2005: 376). Whilst a very substantial work has been made to explain cognitively and linguistically the phenomenon of code alterations, what seems to be important

²⁹ Bold indicate the words/phrases used in GCD.

³⁰ I will revisit the content of this extract later in the analysis under the theme of History. In this part of the analysis I relate this utterance mainly to language and dialect issues.

for the current study on identity is closely related to social and anthropological factors that affect the speakers' language choices.

On the issue of code-switching and identity, Gumperz suggested a model where he contrasts the *we code* as a minority in-group language with the *they code* majority language, which signals 'the more formal, stiffer, and less personal out-group relations' (1982:66). However, this model may not fit well across generations, as there is a language shift. Therefore, the student-participants of this study, who are in the majority second and third generation, may not have distinct boundaries between the *we/they codes*.

Auer (1984: 105) though, stresses that there is a danger in treating 'each and every instance of language alternation as meaningful in the same *semantic way*'. Thus, the use of the *we/they codes* may convey an ethnic contrast but does not necessarily function as marker of ethnic identity. It might function as such in immigrant situations 'where the *majority language* is neutral with respect to ethnic belonging and the *minority language* is a potential symbolic carrier of ethnic (or other) self-identification' (Auer, 2005: 405). In that case code-switching might 'add some ethnic flavor to one's everyday language' (ibid). However, the classroom data are not sufficient to explain whether the students' alternation strategies are related or not to that 'ethnic flavor'. Further exploration of their linguistic choices will follow during the interviews and the student survey.

Lastly, code-switch, mainly in the form of translation is also a characteristic of the teachers' speech acts. As Baker (2006: 111) argues, it is common for teachers in bilingual classrooms to repeat or explain a phrase or passage in another language, 'believing that repetition adds reinforcement and completeness of understanding'. It may also be used to reinforce a teacher's request or signal phases of the learning process. More interestingly, in the teacher-participants extracts there seems to be an additional variation depending on the teacher's origin. Thus, the teachers who come from Greece employ mainly English and Greek (see following example of Teacher A) and the Greek-Cypriot teachers

intentionally or not, enrich their speech with Cypriot-dialect linguistic elements (see Teacher B). The following two extracts are indicative of this phenomenon and of the teachers' code-switch linguistic practices in the classroom:

Extract 1: Teacher A

14. Teacher A- Πριν ξεκινήσουμε θα ήθελα κάποιος να μου θυμήσει το όνομα του βασικού χαρακτήρα του θεατρικού. [She repeats her question in English immediately] *Before we start I would like someone to remind me the name of the main character of the play.*
15.
16. Maria- Είναι για τον πόλεμο μεταξύ Κυπρίων και Εγγλέζων [It is about the war between the Cypriots and the British; use of Greek-Cypriot dialect]
17. Teacher A- [she repeats Maria's answer in Standard Modern Greek and English] Είναι για τον πόλεμο των Κύπριων και των Άγγλων. *It is about the war between the Cypriots and the English people. Τώρα θέλω να μου πείτε πότε γιορτάζουμε αυτό τον αγώνα;* [Now, I want you to tell me when do we celebrate this fight?]
18. Antonis-EOKA
19. Teacher A- Ναι, είναι ο αγώνας της ΕΟΚΑ [Yes, it is the fight of EOKA] *but what is the date that we commemorate this fight?* (11/02/12, the teacher is of Greek origin)

Extract 2: Teacher B

20. Teacher B- Ποιος θέλει να μου πει τι γιορτάσαμε σήμερα; [Then, she repeats the question in English] *Who wants to tell me what we celebrated today?*
21. Student 1- *25th March*
22. [the teacher writes the date on the board]
23. Teacher B- Και τι άλλο; ³¹**Εν** δύο πράγματα που γιορτάσαμε σήμερα. [Then, she repeats in English] *And what else? We celebrated two things.*
24.
25. Teacher B- *It was about the Greeks who were for 400 years under Turkish occupation.* [She says it in English and repeats in Greek.] *Ήταν οι Έλληνες που ήταν για 400 [Cypriot accent] χρόνια υπό Τουρκική κατοχή. ...[Later she uses the same expression for the Cypriots] Cyprus was under British occupation. It was a British colony, do you know what a colony is?*
26.
27. Teacher B- *Προτιμούσαν να πεθάνουν παρά να είναι δούλοι. They preferred to die than being slaves.*
28. ...
29. Teacher B- *To 1821*[Cypriot accent] *ξεκίνησεν ο αγώνας.* [The fight started]
30. ...

³¹ The bold letters indicate use of Greek-Cypriot dialect idioms and/or Greek-Cypriot pronunciation.

31. Teacher B- *Έμεινεν μέσα στη σπηλιά. Ντάξει;* [He stayed in the cave. All right?]
32. ...
33. Teacher B- *Επέθανεν για την πατρίδα του. Πολλοί επέθαναν.* [He died for his country. Many people died.]
34. ...
35. Teacher B- *Τι ήταν να με ρωτήσεις;* [What did you want to ask?] (Audio Recorded Classroom Field Notes, 24/03/12, teacher of Greek-Cypriot origin)

In lines 14, 20, 25 & 27 both teachers employ code-switch to repeat their question/phrase and to achieve ‘completeness of understanding’. It is as if they ‘exploit all potential means available to facilitate the learning process’ (Simon, 2001: 338). A similar example of this strategy appears in line 17, where the teacher repeats the student’s Cypriot answer in Standard Modern Greek. Moreover, it is evident that Teacher B, who is of Cypriot origin, when speaking in Greek, she substitutes some words in Cypriot (lines 23, 29, 31, 33 & 35). Moreover, her accent is more identified with the Cypriot accent when she pronounces numbers such as 400 (line 25) and 1821 (line 29), but this might not be intentional.

The use of the Cypriot dialect within the classroom might express the teacher’s identity and also indicate identification and affiliation to the students’ Cypriot origin. Baker (2006: 112) argues that regional code-switch reveals status and ethnic identity and ‘signals there is less social distance, with expressions of solidarity and growing rapport indicated by the switch’. Therefore, this language choice might be related to power structures that permeate the teacher-student relation. In this view, this strategy might affect positively the rapport between the teacher and the student so as to facilitate the learning process.

Lastly, another interesting element that emerges from extract 2 is that Teacher B consciously or not, uses the word ‘occupation’ (line 25) when referring to the Greek War of Independence in 1821. In contrast, most Greeks would have used the term ‘rule’ or ‘slavery’ while referring to this 400-year historical period (see Theodosopoulos, 2007 and Chapter 5 §1). On the contrary, this term for the

Greeks is more identified with the Axis occupation of Greece. Similarly, for the Greek-Cypriots it signifies the Turkish invasion/occupation in 1974 that resulted in the occupation of the northern part of the island.

During a post-lesson discussion with the teacher she commented: *'I have not realised that I used this term. For us [she means Greek-Cypriots], occupation is linked to 1974'*. Two interesting elements emerge from that extract: the first is the distinction between we/us [Greek-Cypriots]-you/they [Greeks]; and the second is that the teacher's origin along with the Cypriot historical habitus have probably affected the choice of the term 'occupation'. It is thus, the symbolic use of the language that denoted the teacher's membership to the Greek-Cypriot community. This ethnic categorisation was further stressed by the use of 'us'.

In summary, the teachers' language choices may not always index ethnic identification, but consciously or not some of these changes/choices convey and reflect membership to a particular ethnic group. Since the classroom data do not suffice to explain these language choices and the relevant structures that they might index, further exploration of the issue will be attempted through the interviews. As explained elsewhere in the methodology (Chapter 4 §8), this is part of the grounded-theory related approach, where the data analysis informs further the next phase of data collection and the relevant theoretical framework.

b. Interviews and survey

During the interviews and the student survey, I attempted to gain a better insight into aspects of language and identity. In order to do so, I have made a relevant agenda of questions for the semi-structured interviews with the teachers, family members and students. I treated the participants' responses in a reflexive and flexible way, so as to encourage the interviewees to explore and report freely their own perceptions.

The coding process for the current analysis raised many difficulties since many aspects of language and identity overlapped with other categories. In order to address this issue I aimed at creating categories that will help the reader to gain

a better understanding of the field under research. Therefore, I will try to analyse the data in a systematic way, thus by having a general structure that will be consistent.

Under the theme of religion the main sub-categories were: community school, family practices and ideologies. These were further related to religious, ethnic and cultural identity positions. Similarly, the theme of language will be related to the community school, family practices and ideologies and the respective linguistic, ethnic and cultural identity positions. It needs to be stressed that this categorisation is only made for the purposes of analytical convenience and does not always reflect real life identity positions. In real life, the participants hold a variety of self-positions that may be dialectical, situational and relational. Similar problems are reported in other research projects on community education. For instance, in Creese's et al. (2006) research in two Gujarati complementary schools in Leicester, they argue, 'although we have categorised and labelled three identities, we do not claim that these are discreet. Indeed, we see identity positioning as multiple and contingent on context' (ibid: 25).

Language and identity

The participants' reported perceptions reveal a strong relation/expectation in the triptych language, community education and identity. This is a repeated pattern in two ways: a similar relation has been reported in the triptych religion, community education and identity; and, both relations have also emerged during the pilot study.

More explicitly, the teacher-participants comment that one of the main roles of the Greek community school is language development and maintenance. This is often reported as the core role of community education and it is related to a variety of other dimensions. Mrs. Fane commented, '*the role of the school is to teach the language but I don't think that the language will be maintained as the generations pass...the children do not speak Greek at home and I think that the parents are not really interested in maintaining the language*'. Mrs. Anna, in line with the above argument, stressed, '*the school can help the children who already*

speak the language at home. Third or fourth generation students will not be able to learn the language strictly within the community school'. Accordingly, Mrs. Melanie argued, 'the school should but does not serve the community's linguistic needs. Even students who have completed the A Level do not speak Greek with their family'. Lastly, on the same issue Mr. Kostas reported, 'the Greek community schools were first established because the Greek diasporic community in London realised that the second generation was losing the language, but language is difficult to be maintained within such a multilingual and multicultural environment. The main aim of the school should focus on helping the students maintain their roots to the motherland through the teaching of the language'.

The teacher's reported perceptions focus on two main issues: language as an aim of community education; and, possible language loss/shift as the generations pass. In this view, the teachers see language as an un-fulfilled aim of the school. They mainly attribute this lack of fulfilment to the family and the difficulties of third/fourth generation heritage language speakers/learners. This same issue has also emerged in the pilot study and it will be interesting to turn the focus now on the family's perceptions and practices regarding the language.

Ellie's father stressed that *'the school helps the children to learn the language and the culture... it provides the foundation for the children to develop language, culture, history, identity, everything'*. Similarly, Iasona's father reported, *'the school teaches them not just language, but culture, dancing, singing'*. On the same topic Maria's grandmother commented, *'the school helps the children to learn how to read, write and speak Greek...but this is also the parents' and grandparents' responsibility'*. Lastly, Constantina's mother, whose children were born in Cyprus stressed, *'I think it needs support from the family, for the language, the culture, the religion, for everything... my girls came from Cyprus and they had the language, so it's easier for them to learn. As far as grammar and writing I think the school is doing a great job. With the actual speaking I don't know because my girls already had that base. With the other children I don't hear them speaking Greek'*.

In view of the teachers' and parents' comments, I would argue that the reported inconsistency that first emerged in the pilot study now re-emerges with stronger evidence. There seems to be a reported expectation that the role of the community school is to teach and maintain the heritage language, but all the participants admit that the school's success depends strongly on the family's efforts. Otherwise, the school alone may not serve the State's aims regarding language development and maintenance.

Embarking from that reported inconsistency, I will now turn the focus on three different but significant aspects of this issue: firstly, I will present the students' accounts as regards the role of the community school in reference to the language; then, I will analyse the interview and survey data regarding the use of the two languages; lastly, I will revisit an issue that first emerged in the relevant section analysis of the pilot study. If the school fails to meet the State's main aims and expectations regarding language development/maintenance, why do the Greek and Greek-Cypriot states prolong and ensure their support to this kind of diasporic education?

Language, Identity and Certificates

As regards the students' accounts, I would argue that they function as an index of the family's and teachers' expectations. More explicitly, Maria stresses, '[I come to the Greek school] *to learn new things, to get better in my Greek and get a Greek GCSE. I want to achieve a good grade so as to get a good job and good A Levels... It is important to carry on learning my language, so that my kids and my grandkids can learn it*'. For Maria, learning the heritage language serves a dual purpose: effective and affective.

The efficacious character of the heritage language is associated with the language certificates and the perspective that these certificates will ensure '*a good job*'. Thus, language is regarded as a form of cultural capital (skill) that might be converted into other forms of capital (symbolic and economic via '*a good job*') (Bourdieu, 1991). However, as a heritage language it also has an emotional parameter related to the family's traditions. In this view, Maria wants to

persevere the language for her and the future generations. It is important that she reports a sense of ownership when referring to Greek as '*my language*'. This ownership is strongly associated with previous discussions about the use of we/they code (Gumperz, 1982). In this case, the ownership of the heritage language might function as an index/marker of ethnic identity related to ancestral and familial origin.

Maria's extract might also be related to motivational factors that encourage heritage language learning. As Dörnyei (2001) suggests, motivation is one of the main determinants of second language learning and it is a critical 'driving force to sustain the long and often tedious learning process' (Dörnyei, 1998:117). Gardner has provided a useful theoretical and research framework on integrative and instrumental motivation as socio-psychological factors that facilitate second language acquisition. Integrative motivation is associated with a positive attitude towards identifying with or become a member of the second language community. Instrumental motivation links second language learning to usefulness: 'learners may acquire a second language to find a job and earn money, further career prospects, pass exams, etc' (Baker, 2006: 132). Maria reports on both motivational variables: integrative by learning and maintaining her family language; instrumental by passing the exams with a good grade that will secure a good job.

An important feature of Gardner's and similar models -e.g. Clement's (1980) social-context model; Schumann's (1978) acculturation model, etc.- is that 'they all consider the concept of identity and identification with the respective linguistic community to be part of the language-learning process (Gardner et al., 2004: 3). In this view, in Maria's case there might be a mutual relationship between language-identity-motivation, where the reported sense of ownership to '*her language*' motivates heritage language learning and identification with the heritage language speaking community. At the same time, speaking the heritage language similarly might foster membership to the community and in turn reinforce motivation for further heritage language development.

Other student participants also report on similar aspects of community school, language and/or integrative/instrumental motivation. Constantina commented, '[I come to the Greek school] to learn Greek, not to forget it and get my GCSE and A Level³². It will help me to get a job easier ... it makes me feel good that I know another language and it is a thing that I should know because it is my language'. Constantina's account is similar to Maria's comments, as it links Greek language certificates with the prospect of a job (instrumental motivation); and, also expresses a sense of obligation and ownership towards the heritage language (integral motivation expressed as 'should know...my language').

Similarly, Ellie reported, '[I come to the Greek school] to learn Greek because it is my language and all my family knows Greek so that I can speak to them. I want to get a GCSE and an A Level in Greek because it will help me with the university and everything'. Moreover, Iasonas added, '[I come to the Greek school] to learn Greek and, if I have chosen to teach my children Greek, it passes on to them. [I want to learn Greek] because I am Greek and I want my GCSE to get a good job in life and so and maybe own my own company and so. And I want to learn Greek because this is my root and I am Greek and if I don't know Greek I am missing a bit of the puzzle'.

There is a repeated pattern in all students' accounts: their first response regarding the role of community education is associated with learning the Greek heritage language. As regards their motivation in learning the language, the other repeated pattern associates language learning with language qualifications in the form of a certificate (GCSE and A Level). Furthermore, this certificate is associated with other forms of capital, such as symbolic (higher education-university) and economic (good job, own company). Lastly, there are self-descriptions of 'Greekness' that associate ethnic identity with learning the heritage language.

Clement et al. (1994) characterise qualifications in second language learning contexts as 'instrumental and knowledge orientation' and they argue that there

³² National General Certificate of Secondary Education and Advanced Level

is a link between the wish to prepare for brighter career and getting higher qualifications. Qualifications in language learning contexts could function as 'extrinsic motivational variables' thus external rewards that could affect positively the students' attitudes towards heritage language. Language as qualification has also appeared in similar community contexts. More explicitly, Creese et al. (2008: 13) argue that the Chinese and Turkish families placed a great importance on 'the competitive position of the language in the global market ... and encouraged examination taking'

The student-participants also associate heritage language learning with 'intrinsic motivational variables: something that is seen to be worthwhile in its own right' (Wragg, 2001: 9). An example of this intrinsic motivation is communication with family members (Ellie) or the sense of obligation to learn and maintain the family language across generations (Maria, Constantina, Iasonas). More interestingly, Iasonas overtly links language as a marker of his identity and refers to ancestry through 'roots'. Iasonas also reports on lack of heritage language as a missing self-position (*missing a bit of the puzzle*). As Blackledge and Creese (2010: 9) suggest based on their own research experiences in community education, 'we frequently listened to the voices of those who considered their language to be part of their cultural heritage, and fundamental to their sense of themselves'.

In summary, the students' accounts regarding the role of community school, report on intrinsic and extrinsic, instrumental and integrative motivational variables for heritage language learning. Moreover, their accounts reveal sense of ownership towards the language that is associated with membership to the relevant speaking community. Thus, speaking the heritage language is probably perceived by the students as a marker of identity.

The students' reported perceptions are in line with what the student survey data revealed. More explicitly, in Question 5³³ the students ranked three choices for attending Greek community education. The prevailing answer was 'To learn

³³ Appendix A

Greek' (15/20-75%) where 7 students ranked it as their first choice, 5 as a second and 3 as a third choice. This means that community school is mostly perceived as a language school by the students. The second prevailing answer was 'Because I am Greek/Cypriot', where 13/20 (65%) students chose it as one of the reasons for coming to the Greek school. More explicitly, 3 students ranked it as a first choice, 6 as a second and 4 as a third. A comparison between these two choices, reveals a strong reported correlation between 'Learning Greek' and the students' self-descriptions 'I am Greek/Cypriot'. Thus, the triptych community school-heritage language-ethnic identity re-emerges in the student survey data.

Background research indicates a two-way positive relation between language use and identity. For instance, Giles and Johnson (1987) argue that people who identify strongly with an ethnolinguistic group regard language as a symbol of this group and thus of their identity. Moreover, Van Den Berg (1988) argues that strong identification with a community results in frequent use of the group's language. In this view, the students' reported perceptions are more in line with Giles and Johnson's arguments (language as marker of a group/identity) as the reported use of the heritage language is more limited than frequent.

Another element that also re-emerged was language as qualification that was formerly associated with the students' reported extrinsic instrumental motivational variables for heritage language learning. In the survey, 60% (12/20) of the student-participants replied that they come to the Greek school to get a GCSE/A Level Certificate. This was ranked as a first choice by 5 students, as a second by 4 and as a third by 3. Therefore, heritage language learning is also associated with other social, cultural and future-economic dimensions that might inform other self-positions beyond ethnic identity. This is a common pattern in many community education institutions. As Creese et al. (2006: 24) argue, 'complementary schools may use national examinations to measure language proficiency and enter their students for higher level qualifications in Gujarati (GCSE and Advanced level)'. The students' reported perceptions indicate that they associate the value of the school with 'allowing them to be successful

learners' (ibid: 36). Similar reports are documented in Chinese complementary schools in the UK. As Francis, Archer and Mau (2010: 91) suggest, 'some young people in our study did see learning Cantonese as instrumentally beneficial, as a practical skill to increase their marketability in the global workplace'. Exam credentials was often mentioned as a benefit of community education attendance.

Lastly, the student's survey indicated another strong reason that may not be explicitly linked to heritage language and identity, but it has significant implications for the role of the community school. Amongst the participants, 55% (11/20) replied that they are coming to the Greek school 'Because my parents want me to come'. Interestingly, 5 students ranked this answer as their first choice, 1 as a second choice and 5 as a third. More interestingly, none of the students chose 'I come to the Greek school because I like it'.

This last answer is contradictory to the other students' accounts as it suggests compulsory attendance enforced by the family. The issue of choice is a complex one and it could be related to the discussion that proceeded in the pilot study regarding the link between mainstream and community education. Mainstream formal dominant education is often unquestionably accepted by the students because it is identified with the 'norm'. However, community education indicates difference in all kind of levels, linguistic, social, ethnic, religious, etc. Negotiating difference within a monolingual and/or homogenous environment could prove to be a difficult process. Retaining a linguistic and cultural heritage while being part of a wider English society, is more the parents' choice than the students'. This lack of the students' agency regarding the choice for community education has implications not only for the character of community education, but also for the results that it may achieve. As Li Wei (2006: 83) questions, are the students 'feeling forced into a different set of social networks that they do not necessarily wish to identify with? And if so, what effect will there be on the development of their identities?'.

Based on the aforementioned accounts, the students seem to embrace some facets of community school's ideological representations despite the fact that it is not reported as their own choice. They report that they want to learn Greek and their self-descriptions include identification with Greekness/Cypriotness. However, they have a strong need to balance this enforced (by the family) community education with the achievement of an externally evaluated qualification, recognised and legitimised by the dominant British educational system. This is a need emphatically reported not only by the students, but also by family members and educators.

For instance, Constantina's mother commented, *'I chose this Greek school after a recommendation from a friend. That it has good GCSE and A Level results'*. Similarly, Iasonas' father reported, *'I want him to achieve in Greek and pass his GCSE exams'*. Lastly, Maria's grandmother added, *'I want my grandchildren –the way my children did- to get their Greek GCSE and maybe A Level certificates. They are Greeks and they should not have certificates only in English'*.

In view of the above comments, the school's and the students' success are often 'measured in terms of achieving an externally evaluated qualification'(Creese et al., 2006: 35). However, some educators question the emphasis that is laid in the exam results and feel that it affects negatively the role and function of community education. On this issue, Mrs. Anna reported, *'some students and their families attend community education because they aim at getting a commercialised GCSE or A Level certificate. But the effort and preparation for these exams cut them off from other aspects of the community school, such as their friends, dance lessons, etc. which are more important for them'*. Similarly, Mrs. Fane questions the value of these language certificates, *'some students pass the exams but do they really know or speak/use the language?'*. On the same issue Mrs. Melanie commented, *'Even students who have completed the A Level do not speak Greek with their family'*.

In summary, all the participants identify the community school as a language school. This element both emerged in the theoretical background and the pilot

study. Interestingly, there was also a reported thread between language and ethnic identity by the students and family members. Thus, Greek language learning was associated with Greekness/Cypriotness. Another important element that emerged was the measurement of the school's success in reference to externally evaluated qualifications, like the GCSE and A Level certificates. For the students and the parents these certificates function both as a motivating factor and an aim/expectation. On the other hand, the teachers question the value of these certificates for three reasons: they report them as '*commercialised certificates*'; they feel that the exams disorientate the students from other aspects of community education; and, they commented that these language certificates are not associated with actual use of the target heritage language. In view of this element (actual use of the heritage language), now I turn the focus of the analysis on the students' and family's reported perceptions and language practices.

Language and Ethnic Identity

Two important elements emerge as regards the community's language choices: a reported link between language and ethnic identity; the shift to English home language as the generations pass; codeswitching or code mixing as element of identity; and, a reported contribution of intergenerational support. Therefore, the data from the main study are in line with the data analysis that proceeded in the pilot study and the relevant theoretical framework.

Language Choices, Language Practices and Intergenerational Support

As regards the students' accounts, during the interviews they reported English as a home language. More explicitly, Constantina said that she speaks English with her parents, her brothers/sisters; and, Greek with her grandparents '*because they don't understand English*'. She also uses Greek '*at Greek school and sometimes at home when we have friends who are Greek*'. Ellie mentioned that she speaks English with her parents, brothers/sisters; '*mostly Greek but sometimes English*' with her grandparents; and, Greek with her cousins '*because they don't really understand English*'. As regards her language choices, Ellie commented, '*When I am in Cyprus I prefer to speak Greek because everyone understands me better. But in London I prefer English because most people understand and speak*

English'. On the same issue, Iasonas reported that he uses mainly English with his parents, brothers/sisters; *'some Greek with my γιαγιά [grandmother] and when I am at Greek school, I speak Greek. And if we are having a barbeque with people from Cyprus I might say something in Greek'*. Lastly, Maria stressed: *'With my mom I speak some Greek and some English but with my γιαγιά [grandmother] and παππού [grandfather] I speak Greek all the time'*. As the only student-participant who reported Greek as a home language, she also stressed that she speaks mainly Greek with her brother and her cousins. She added also that *'When I am with my English school friends I speak English but because most of them are Greek I speak Greek with them. At English school I'd rather speak English because it is kind of easier and I know it better...I prefer Greek with my family because it feels comfortable and that is the language that everyone speaks in the family'*.

The students' accounts reveal some patterns regarding English and Greek language use. English is mainly used with the parents and close siblings such as brothers, sisters and cousins (with the exception of Maria). Conversely, Greek is used within the community school and with the grandparents or family members who do not understand English. As regards the contribution of the grandparents in heritage language use, it is important to note that all the student-participants (20/20-100%) in the survey (Question 12) mentioned that *'I speak more Greek when I am with my grandparents'* and 19/20 (95%) ranked this as their first choice. Furthermore, occasions such as family gatherings or gatherings with Greek/Cypriot family friends also encourage the use of the heritage language. The students' language choices are situational and relational depending on the linguistic/ethnic characteristics of the interlocutor or the place where the interaction takes place. The students prefer to use the linguistic medium that will meet their communication needs, e.g. *'everyone understands me better'*; or makes them feel *'more comfortable'* as they do not differ (*'that is the language that everyone speaks'*).

Through Question 11 of the survey, a thread appears to link language and identity. As regards the situations under which or the persons with whom the students feel more Greek, all the students (20/20- 100%) replied that *'I feel*

more Greek when I am with my grandparents'. This was ranked as a first choice by 4 students (20%) and as a second by 16 (80%). The other prevailing answer was 'When I am in Cyprus', which was ranked as a first choice by 16 students (80%).

In view of these elements, I would argue that being with the grandparents might be associated with the students' ethnic self-position because their main communicative medium is the Greek language (95% of the students reported they speak Greek with the grandparents). However, this could have a dual interpretation. Thus, the students might feel more Greek when they socialise with their grandparents and for this reason they employ the Greek language as a symbolic communicative medium to denote similarity or adequation, 'two individuals be positioned as alike...as sufficiently similar for current interactional purposes' (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005: 599).

What seems to be important for our study is that language is implicitly or explicitly reported either as a factor that supports identification with the ethnic community; or as an index/marker of membership to the ethnic community. We should acknowledge though, that identity construction is

'constantly shifting both as interaction unfolds and across discourse contexts and it is in part an outcome of others' perceptions and representations, and in part an effect of larger ideological processes and material structures that may become relevant to interaction' (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005: 606).

Thus, identity and language are both situational and relational subjected to conscious and habitual dialogical processes between the self and the other.

The students' accounts are in line with what the family members reported. Constantina's mother argued: *'Usually and mainly I speak English with my children, my brothers/sisters, my husband and my parents... We speak Greek only when we don't want someone to understand... because we went school here it is just easier to speak English because I think in English. So, that's what I do with my*

children. I know I should speak more Greek with them. But, it's not pure English, there are lot of Greek words thrown in... Greek words come out but I don't think that I ever say a sentence that will be full English or full Greek (laugh). I think it's a bit of both, like we are a bit of both. Unless I am speaking to somebody either from Greece or Cyprus or somebody who is English. Otherwise I speak a little bit of both'.

From the above extract, it is evident that this family has English as a home language but the mother acknowledges that she '*should use more Greek*'. However, Greek is often employed as a secret we-code that will isolate those who do not share the same ethnic/linguistic background. Code-mixing is also reported as a family practice and as a marker of identity: '*we speak a bit of both-we are a bit of both*'. Linguistic identity, as ethnic identity (Chapter 5 § 2 Religion and Ethnic Identity) is also situational and relational. The linguistic and/or ethnic identity of the interlocutor defines the communicative medium that the speaker will employ. As Auer (2005: 406) argues, 'Hybrid ways of speaking symbolize social identities which can be considered to be equally hybrid (multiple, flexible, changing, malleable)'.

On the same issue, Ellie's father reported: '*At home we speak a mix of everything. Mainly we speak English but a lot of the time we do break into Greek or whatever it is that we speak (laugh). Maybe when I want to make a point at home and it is the severity of it maybe the Greek comes out. If we have guests who can speak Greek we would speak Greek with them and obviously with our parents and relatives. With the kids the majority of the time I speak English and that is wrong but that is the way we have developed and grown up'.*

Similarly, Iasonas' father commented: '*I speak English with my children, Greeklish (laugh) with my parents, brothers and sisters. We speak Greek when we don't want anyone to understand us. When we have family gatherings and my mother is there, we will definitely speak Greek....Because we are second and third generation we communicate in English and that's our fault. Our parents, τώρα μιλάω ελληνικά στη μητέρα μου δεν μιλάω αγγλικά [now I speak Greek with my mother I don't*

speak English], so for me when I speak with her everyday it is a practice. But my children don't do that, maybe with the γιayιά [grandmother] but when she goes....'.

In the above parental accounts, there are many similarities: English home language is reported as a *'fault' / 'wrong'* practice that *'should'* change; Greek as a secret we-code; and, codeswitching as *'a bit of both'*, *'mix'* or *'Greeklish'*. It is interesting that all the parent-participants laugh when they refer to the way they use the Greek language. Moreover, they seem to question the quality of the Greek they speak by calling it *'Greeklish'* or *'whatever is that we speak'*. Auer (2005: 406) explains that minority community speakers when threatened by dominant melting pot conditions, 'may maintain their identity by forming a *language island* which is not only geographically but also socially and ideologically separated from the *main land*'. What is interesting in our case is that the participants report on a 'language island' that may not be identified with the dominant host language (English) or with the heritage language (Greek). They syncretize their identity and language by drawing on elements from both languages and both cultures. As Constantina's mother stressed *'we speak a bit of both-we are a bit of both'*. Lastly, they are willing to accept English as their main linguistic habitus because as they explain they were born, educated or grew up with this language, so it is easier for them to express their thoughts in English. Thus, the oxymoron of regarding the Greek language as an element of identity; want their children to learn, speak and maintain the heritage language, but also use English as a home language re-emerges.

A new element that is added from Mr. Ioannis' account (Iasonas' father) is the contribution of the grandparents in the use and/or maintenance of the heritage language. This element has also emerged in the student survey and the students' interviews. In a similar study conducted by Ruby et al. (2010) they explore in a Bangladeshi British community the role of a grandmother as a teacher to the children in the immediate family and the neighbourhood. They argue that her class 'shares the cultural and linguistic knowledge imparted in complementary classes within a more relaxed atmosphere and a more personal relationship between teacher and children' (ibid: 58). The role of the grandparents in

developing the heritage language has also been highlighted in Lytra's study in two London Turkish complementary schools. She argues that 'according to the children's reports, they spoke English (with siblings and some parents) and Turkish (mainly with mothers and grandparents) at home' (Lytra, 2011: 31). Lastly, the role of intergenerational support has also been emphasised in Kenner et al.'s (2007: 241) research:

'This study demonstrates that when young children and grandparents jointly participate in events ranging from storytelling to computer activities, the exchange of knowledge enhances learning for both generations... grandparents passing on knowledge of family history, language and culture; and children offering new knowledge to the older generation'.

In the current study, there is also evidence from a grandmother-participant, that the grandparents support heritage language learning by using mainly the heritage language with their children and grandchildren; and by supporting the role of the Greek community school in various ways (transporting the children, help with the homework, attend community school's events, etc.). More explicitly, Maria's grandmother reported, *'with my children and my grandchildren I speak only Greek, only Greek. At home and school the children can feel Greek because they can speak their own language and they feel that if they go to their homeland they can speak, write and read their language'*. As regards her assistance, she commented *'I try to help them in any way I can. I bring the children here twice a week, I help them with the homework, I help the school during the events, the catering, the school's tuck shop. We all need to support this place because it is our own place'*.

It is evident from the above account and the aforementioned student and parental reports that grandparents support heritage language development. Moreover, Maria's grandmother associates the importance of this support with identity. Her reported perceptions stress that the school and the home can be transformed into 'safe places' where the students may affirm their identity by speaking *'their'* heritage language.

Community schools are often described as 'safe spaces' where heritage language, as a marker of ethnic identity, is inextricably linked to the community's self-positions. As Li Wei stresses, (2008: 80) there are studies that 'regard complementary schools as a unique context – safe space, as the authors call it – where transformation, negotiation and management of linguistic, social and learner identities take place'. Later, in another study he also employs this notion of 'safe space' as introduced by Creese and Martin (2006) and Martin et al. (2004). There it is argued that

'it is the pupils who make the complementary school a 'safe space' through their multilingual practices, which are often in opposition to the discourses of the institutions and teachers, not in opposition to the institutional purpose' (Li & Wu, 2009: 209).

For this reason it is important to explore how the students perceive their own multilingual practices in reference to the school and the family.

In the survey, 18/20 (90%) students replied in Question 6 that they 'feel more Greek' when they 'speak Greek'. Nine (9-45%) students ranked this answer as their first choice and nine (9- 45%) as their second. From the former category, 5/9 students ranked as a second choice 'I feel more Greek when I am at Greek school'; whereas, from the latter category, 7/9 students ranked this answer as a first choice. What emerges from these numerical data is that the students report on a close interrelation between Greek language, sense of Greek identity and Greek community school. Therefore, the students might regard the Greek community school as a 'safe space' where speaking Greek fosters their sense of belonging to the Greek community; or, a sense of belonging to this 'safe space' might motivate them to learn and/or speak the heritage language.

Some of the teachers' reports also support this argument. Mr. Kostas argued on this issue, *'the students come to the Greek school to learn the language but above all they come to feel Greek...within the school they are free to celebrate their Greekness and develop their identity through the language, the dance, the music classes and the festive celebrations of our ethnos and our religion'*. Based on the

above comments, the school serves a range of needs and purposes. Language is only one of them but often functions as the cornerstone for the development of other ethno-cultural self-positions.

Similarly, the other educators commented: *'I think that the role of the school is only superficially identified with the language. It is through the language lessons that the children meet other children who share the same national background. So, through this social aspect of the language they maintain their identity'* (Mrs. Melanie-teacher); *'the school through the language and the celebrations keeps the community united. Brings children with a common ethnic background together so that they can feel more Greek or Cypriot'* (Mrs. Fane-teacher); *'the school is a bridge that connects the family and the students with other people who have the same background...it is not the language lessons that attract the students, it is the social life of the school and the sense that they belong to a wider Greek community'* (Mrs. Anna-teacher).

In view of the teachers' comments, heritage language and identity do not necessarily go hand-in-hand. On the contrary, the heritage language environment is mostly employed as a pretext to reinforce sense of belonging to a community who shares the same characteristics. Given the students' reported perceptions that 'I feel more Greek when I am at Greek school and I speak Greek' (90%) I would argue that the community school is effective in creating a 'safe space' where the students can manifest their Greekness with or without the language.

Language, Ideologies and Socio-Cultural Identity

As Bucholtz & Hall (2004: 381) argue,

'practice, performance, indexicality, and ideology do not operate separately in the creation of identity. Ideology is the level at which practice enters the field of representation. Indexicality mediates between ideology and practice, producing the former through the latter. Performance is the highlighting of ideology through the foregrounding of practice'.

After having explored the participants' reported linguistic practices, now I turn the focus on ideologies that might inform these or other practices and the respective ethnic, cultural and social self-positions. However, it needs to be acknowledged that the reported ideologies, perceptions and practices do not reflect exclusively the participants' self-positions. 'The actual linguistic and social practices in which people engage in specific social contexts (including the display of practice in performance) are highly complex' (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004: 382), situational and relational and thus the reported perceptions are not always accurate descriptions.

The Greek community's language ideologies, especially in reference to dialect and the relevant social, historical and political dimensions, have emerged both in the theoretical framework and the data (pilot study and classroom field notes). For this reason, this was further explored during the interviews and the survey data. One of the most important elements that emerged from the performance of the theatre play was the use of the Cypriot dialect as an index of authenticity and naturalisation of the enacted figures. Thus, it is important to gain an insight into the representations/ideologies that the participants hold regarding the use of the dialect and how these are manifested within the community school context.

As Errington (2001: 110) argues, language ideologies refer 'to the situated, partial, and interested character of conceptions and uses of language'. These conceptions are socially and context bound, constantly informed and shaped from the sociocultural experience of the speakers. This means that there might not be 'an overly homogeneous view of language ideologies within a cultural group...but a variation in ideas, ideals, and communicative practices' (Kroskrity, 2004: 496).

Dialect Issues

All three group of participants report on the issue of dialect from a variety of perspectives: the educators report on their perceptions and classroom practices regarding the two varieties; similarly, the families report on their perceptions,

practices and school related expectations; and, the students on the language variety choices, practices and expectations.

Regarding the former group, it is important to note that the teacher-participants' background varies as regards the ethnic, socio-cultural and linguistic experiences and they belong to different age groups³⁴. Thus, it will be interesting to explore whether this diversity affects in any way the language ideologies they hold and/or reproduce. Mr. Kostas is the oldest of the participants, he was born in Cyprus and he has been working as a Greek-community teacher in the UK since 1969. Mrs. Anna, in her late thirties, is of Greek origin and she has six-year community school working experience. Mrs. Fane is of Greek-Cypriot origin, she is in her early thirties and she has been working in the community school for the last four years. Lastly, Mrs. Melanie is Greek, she has a rich Greek-Cypriot friendly network, she is her late twenties and she has been working as a community teacher for the last two years.

One of the key issues that were explored through the interviews was the teachers' perceptions regarding the two varieties. Mr. Kostas reports not only on his perceptions but also on the differences that he detects through his long-time experience in Greek community education: *'Until the 80s and the 90s the family had a great impact on the students' language. Most of the immigrant Cypriots were from villages or small towns and had a limited educational background. So, the students used the Cypriot dialect, most of the teachers also used this dialect and they were successful in their teaching. Today we need to accept the dialect when the students use it. Most of the parents and students today also speak Greek... As a teacher I accept the dialect but I speak mainly Greek. In my personal life I also speak Greek most of the time...Some people refer to the dialect as 'χωριάτικα' [village language] but our dialect has words that can be traced back to Homer and have survived until today. The syntax is different and in the past we used to correct the students but today we accept it...In some cases, such as community gatherings, I use the dialect and it has a positive impact. It makes them feel more comfortable; that I am one of them'*.

³⁴ See Appendix C

In the above account there is a reported shift between the two varieties. According to Mr. Kostas, the first generation of Greek-Cypriots due to limited educational experiences, thus cultural capital, employed the heritage dialect as a main communicative medium. The teachers also used the dialect as the language of instruction in a reported efficacious '*successful*' way. Mr. Kostas does not report explicitly on the status between the two varieties. However, his attempt to place value on the dialect based on ancestral roots (Homer), could be interpreted as such. A legitimised and high variety is valued per se without resorting to reasons (ancestral or other) that will validate its status. Moreover, this inherited value might be associated with right-wing Greek-Cypriot ideologies that embrace any element that denotes continuity from Ancient Greece as pure Hellenism. As Papadakis (1998: 198) argues, 'Hellenism belongs to the symbolic armory of the Right, whose supporters promote that paradigm of history'.

On the same issue, Mrs. Anna commented, '*the dialect is more acceptable in oral but we try to correct it or vanish it in the students' written accounts...the Cypriot teachers, who know the dialect, accept it more than us. I think that the school confuses the children because if they happen to speak the dialect with their grandparents we force them to learn how to speak and write in Greek...if I knew the dialect, I would use it as a bridge to communicate with the children. I would begin with the things that they know and they feel comfortable with*'.

In Mrs. Anna account there is a reported difference between the Greek and the Greek-Cypriot educators in reference to the use and/or acceptance of the dialect. She argues that the diptych of Cypriot 'dialect at home'-'Greek at school', adds confusion to the children. For this reason, she regards the dialect as a useful tool that could function as a bridge between the students' 'funds of knowledge' and the school's linguistic aims. As Moll et al. (1992) contend the secret for effective literacy instruction is for schools to investigate and utilise the *hidden* home and community resources of their students. In this sense, the dialect (the same way intergenerational support was analysed earlier) might function as the students'

home resources that may foster heritage language development and maintenance.

Mrs. Fane also reported on the issue of dialect: *'the students learn Standard Modern Greek when they come at school but the few words that they know or they hear from their families are Cypriot. So, the students get confused with the different vocabulary and the accent. I usually use the example of Welsh and English so as to explain the difference: that we may speak in Cypriot but we write in Greek.... The dialect has its roots in the Greek language, it is a Greek dialect like the Cretan; but Cypriot is enriched with English and Turkish words.... I speak Cypriot most of the time unless I am in the classroom or with Greek friends, then καλαμαρίζω (kalamarizo- term that denotes I speak Greek)'*.

In the above account, the students' confusion between the two varieties re-emerges. The teacher resorts to the students' English language experience to explain the use of the dialect, so as to limit the dialect in oral speech. It is important that she accepts the dialect as a dialect-speaker herself. However, the use of the term 'kalamarizo' raises some issues regarding the status of the two varieties.

Arvaniti (2006: 6) explains that

'Cypriots use the term *kalamarizo*, speak like a person from Greece, (kalamaras being a derogatory term for mainland Greeks) to describe the linguistic behaviour of Cypriots who try to speak Standard Greek in situations that call for Cypriot, a behavior that is considered pretentious and attracts ridicule'.

In the above extract the term is employed as a self-description and it might imply that 'for the lay speakers Cypriot and Standard Greek do not form a continuum but are categorically distinct, even though features from urban Cypriot may transfer to Standard Greek and vice versa' (Arvaniti, *ibid*).

Lastly, Mrs. Melanie also commented on the use of the two varieties: *'I try to use the Cypriot dialect in the classroom and I accept it in oral but not in written...I think that by speaking the dialect with the students who have this linguistic background from the families I encourage them to speak Greek, Standard or Cypriot. The students do not understand the difference between the two varieties and I believe that it would cause more confusion if I insisted on these differences. ...the students who speak Greek with their grandparents use the dialect, so I think the dialect is more significant for them than Standard Greek'*.

Mrs. Melanie, who is of Greek origin, but has a Cypriot dialect competence, aims at using the dialect in the classroom as a scaffolding practice. This Vygotskian concept

'states that in social interaction a knowledgeable participant can create, by means of speech, supportive conditions in which the novice can participate in, and extend, current skills and knowledge to higher levels of competence' (Donato, 1994:40).

This practice is similar to drawing from the students' funds of knowledge, as suggested earlier by Mrs. Anna, another teacher-participant. According to these educators this practice encourages the students to develop the linguistic capital that they bring from their family.

In view of the teachers' accounts, I argue that the teachers acknowledge the Cypriot dialect as a variety that may be used within the community school but should be restricted to oral speech. They do not make any explicit comments regarding the status of the two varieties, though in their accounts there are implications that the Cypriot dialect is the low variety. It is also important that the teachers' accounts are not controversial or emphatically diverse despite the different origin, linguistic background and age of the participants. The only depicted difference regards the teachers' practices in the classroom, where Greek teachers who do not have competence in the dialect do not use it at all (e.g. Mrs. Anna). Lastly, from Mr. Kostas' account, emerged that the Cypriots' ideologies on the dialect might be related to other political ideologies.

The issue of the dialect was also explored with the other groups of participants: the parents, a student's grandmother and the students. They are all of Cypriot origin but they have generation differences (first, second and third generation-see earlier analysis on religion Chapter 5). These accounts reflect another dimension on dialect ideologies that is not consistent with the teachers' respective reported perceptions. The family accounts share a basic similarity: all the participants speak the Cypriot dialect but all of them report that they want their children and grandchildren to develop competence in Standard Modern Greek. The students' accounts share many similarities to those reported by their family members and for this reason I will present/analyse them in parallel. The interview extracts that follow portray the ideologies that the participants reported regarding the status of the dialect.

Constantina's mother and Constantina: (Family 1)

'I want them to learn the Greek-Greek (laughs) eem as in γραμματική [grammar] and the way they say things yes, but on a daily basis I speak Greek-Cypriot to them which is the influence, isn't it?... I think Greek from Greece is the proper Greek and ours is the more common slang Greek. Greek-Greek, I think it's of a bigger value' (mother)

'I speak Cypriot but I prefer to learn Greek. Because we learn how to say words properly in Greek. I don't want to sound like...χωρκιάτικα [village language-she pronounces it with a Cypriot accent]. Cypriot doesn't sound properly' (student)

There is a consistency in the first family between the parental and the student accounts. Both report Cypriot as their main communicative medium but they expect from the community school to develop the students' linguistic competence in Standard Modern Greek. As regards the status between the two varieties, both reports favour the Standard variety as '*the proper*' language that follows grammar and vocabulary rules. On the contrary, the dialect is identified as '*common slang Greek*' and village language (χωρκιάτικα).

As Bourdieu (1991) argues it is

‘the educational system that ... directly helped to devalue popular modes of expression, dismissing them as ‘slang’ and ‘gibberish’ and to impose recognition of the legitimate language’.

When the mother explicitly reports that the Standard variety is ‘*of a bigger value*’ she reproduces these ideologies as imposed through the educational system. The mother’s reported perceptions are consistent with what the student reports. Thus the dialect ideologies are reproduced within the family with the constant support of the educational system that teaches only the Standard variety while neglecting the dialect.

Ellie’s father and Ellie: (Family 2)

‘I almost look at that as two different types of languages. I always try to compare that with England and the Scottish dialect. It is very different although it is not the same language... despite I never had the opportunity to learn the Greek language and speak it the way Greeks speak it and I would love to be able to speak like that and you know it is good. sometimes when I look at Greek TV and listen to the news there are lots of words that I don’t understand and when I am reading the Greek newspaper there are lots of words that don’t mean anything to me. But that’s probably because of the fact that I am partly anglicised. But I think it is important to know the Greek language and be able to watch the news and read the newspaper and understand all of that because I cannot do that. I want to make sure that my children do, as this is the proper way of speaking and writing the language’ (father)

‘When I speak I kind of mix them [Greek and Cypriot]. I prefer to learn Greek because you can both speak and write in Greek but you can’t write in Cypriot. I like them both’ (student)

In the second family, there are no explicit reports on the value of the two varieties. However, the parental reported expectations focus on the Standard variety as the ‘*proper*’ language that permits both speaking and writing. This attribute of the standard variety is repeated in the student’s account. Thus, the

consistence between parental and student accounts is a repeated pattern. Moreover, the father uses the example of the Scottish dialect in the same way Mrs. Fane did earlier. His English background, emphasised by the use of the self-descriptive term '*anglicised*', is employed as a cultural medium that facilitates his perception and understanding of the Greek dialect. Lastly, his reported expectation/wish that the community school will develop the students' linguistic skills in Standard Greek is grounded on his personal deficiency in understanding this variety fully.

Iasonas' father and Iasonas: (Family 3)

'When you are viewed in that dialect you are viewed as (pause) the low class person using a dialect, which is really sad. Because our parents came from the villages hard-working and you know it is not their fault. You need to have the ability to stand up and be able to speak what we call Modern Greek... I want them to learn Greek. Because the Cypriot dialect we can only maintain it at a lower level because it's being pushed down as a village type person, a village type thing. And unfortunately, that village time has moved on. It is something that our parents spoke. So, I want them to know the dialect and I discussed the differences with them. So, it is important to learn modern but they must not forget the Cypriot dialect because it is our Cypriot dialect. ' (father)

*'I prefer to speak Greek. It feels more comfortable and I think it sounds better than Cypriot. I think Cypriot is just in the villages and uses *tse* and *tse*, Cypriot sounds. But in Greek we use more like proper sounds and words. I don't know but because I am learning Greek it is so much easier for me to speak Greek than Cypriot'* (student)

In the above extract, the third family reports on similar ideologies as the first family. The dialect is reported as '*low class*' variety; '*of lower level*' that reflects a '*village type person/thing*'. The student's account repeats the parental perceptions by comparing the Standard variety that '*sounds better*' and has '*proper sounds and words*' with the Cypriot '*village sounds*'. In this extract, the two varieties have a symbolic power and function as an index of social class. The Standard variety legitimised and employed by the upper and/or middle class

represents respectively this class. On the contrary, the low variety of the dialect, mainly spoken by '*hard-working*' villagers functions as a marker of low, working class people.

On the issue of village Cypriot dialect, Arvaniti (2006: 4) notes,

'Cypriot is divided into town speech, and village Cypriot or village speech... Town speech—also known as urban Cypriot, and local Cypriot Koine (Karyolemou and Pavlou 2001, and Kolitsis 1988, respectively) is taken by the speakers themselves to be "the Cypriot dialect par excellence"... Village and town Cypriot form a continuum with village Cypriot as the basilect and town Cypriot as the acrolect'.

In view of Arvaniti's arguments, it would be inferred that the participants refer to the basilect. However, at the same time, the father expresses a wish for the maintenance of 'our dialect'. The dialect, no matter how devalued may be, it represents the family history. Thus, it has a symbolic value that may not be recognised and legitimised by the educational system and/or the state, but has a family cultural significance.

Maria's grandmother and Maria: (Family 4)

'We speak Cypriot at home but we try to change it so as to help our children with their exams and to help them understand what their teacher is saying, because the teachers speak Greek. And you might think that there is no difference between Cypriot and Greek but there are huge differences. ...I prefer them to speak Greek because this is the proper language, the language that we read and write. And it would have been easier for us if we could speak Greek, the right language'.
(grandmother)

'I prefer to speak Cypriot because I am better at speaking Cypriot than Greek and I understand it more than I do Greek...I prefer to learn Greek because I already know Cypriot. I was brought up how to speak Cypriot so I know Cypriot. But GCSEs and A Levels are Greek I need to learn Greek and if you get a job that involves speaking another language Greek is most likely but not Cypriot' (student)

The last family when commenting on the issue of dialect lays the emphasis on the value of Greek in reference to the exams. Both the grandmother and the student report that learning and speaking Greek, thus the '*proper/right language*', is important for the school exams. In this case, the externally evaluated certificates (GCSE and A Level) function as an educational/state mechanism that endows power and status to the Standard high variety. Thus, Standard Modern Greek is reported as the legitimised variety, recognised as such even from speakers of the dialect (e.g. the participants of this study).

In view of the above analysis, it emerges that the students' accounts are consistent with their family's reported perceptions. Sometimes the students reproduce the elders' perceptions with such consistency that it sounds like a repetition. Therefore, it is not only the educational system that re-produces these ideologies. It is also the family field where these ideologies are reproduced and transmitted to the next generation. This is also mirrored in the survey data where the students report on the variety that they prefer to speak and learn within the community school (Questions 14 & 15 respectively). Half the student-participants (10/20) reported that they prefer to speak Cypriot but to learn Greek; 40% (8/20) reported that they prefer to speak and learn Greek; and, 10% (2/20) prefer to speak and learn Cypriot. In total, the majority of the students 90% (18/20) reported that they prefer to learn Greek than Cypriot. Their accounts are indicative of the high value that it is placed on the Standard variety, whether this is associated with the certificates; the devaluing ideologies of the 'village dialect'; and/or the reproduction of the school's, state's and family's ideologies.

Chapter 7

Analysis: Theme National Celebration Theatre Performances

Abstract

In this part of the analysis I explore the main theme of the current research: national celebration theatre performances in reference to identity. I follow the same pattern of analysis: from theory and the pilot study to main research data and analysis. The notion that underlies this process is rooted in an approach where theory and data mutually inform one another. Background theory (Chapter 3) suggests that national celebrations have embedded ideologies that manifest a successful ethnic struggle of resistance. These celebrations are associated with collective memory and often entail a process of 'selective tradition' (Williams, 2001, Chapter 3 §3) that ensures the efficacious character of these ritualistic performances. These ideologies often serve ethnic and State interests of power and as such they are transmitted and reproduced through State institutions such as schools (Bourdieu, 1991; Apple, 1995). This transmission and reproduction ensures that the authority of temporal powers and social control will be maintained. In view of these elements, I explore the ideological representations of ethnic national celebrations as manifested through the script/performance of a theatre play. Then, I explore the reported perceptions regarding the role of national celebrations in reference to the school, the Greek diasporic community and their self-descriptions of identity positions.

1. From Theory to the Pilot Study

Friere (1998: 91) postulates that education, as a human experience is a form of intervention in the world that implies both the reproduction of the dominant ideology along with its unmasking or the interrogation of it. However, within the Greek community education in London, it is often difficult to discern and respectively unmask or interrogate the dominant ideology. The Greek community schools in London may be described as complex educational

institutions informed by three different and often contradictory sources of ethnic ideologies: the Greek/Hellenic, the Cypriot and the British. The relation between these three different ideological sources is historically, socially, politically and economically complicated.

Regarding the former Greek/Hellenic source of ethnic ideology, Greece and Cyprus historically and politically are often perceived as belonging to the same ethnos. The fact that they share the same language and religion is often employed as a symbolic claim to common ancestry.

Mavratsas (1999: 97) argues, that this symbolic

‘nationalist ideology - building on the glorious past and heritage of Cypriot Hellenism - certainly carries more weight than the cultural capital of those who present a Cypriot-centred understanding of the cultural heritage and identity of the Greek Cypriots’.

Within this nationalist Hellenic-Cypriot ideology rests a political tension that informs several identity positions. Thus, Greek-Cypriots who prefer to adopt the Greek frame of reference than the Cypriot are often identified as right-wing Greek-Cypriot nationalists than Cypriotists.

The antipodal view to this Hellenic nationalism is the Cypriot nationalism that rose ‘as a reaction to what was widely perceived as the great betrayal of Greece’ Antoniadou & Peristianis (1999: 3). As Papadakis et al. (2006: 3) stress, even after the events of 1974 some ‘Greek Cypriots continued to lean toward Greece for political support, despite a strong sense of betrayal by Greece due to the disastrous actions of the Greek junta’.

In this view, the two sources of ethnic ideologies within the community school, the Hellenic and the Cypriot, can coexist harmonically if perceived from a Hellenic nationalistic perspective; or they could be in tension if perceived from a Cypriot nationalistic perspective.

As regards the British source of ethnic ideology, the colonial past along with the neo-colonial present and the Cypriot migration to the U.K. bound up Cyprus and Britain in a critical way. The tension in this relation rests on the contradiction between armed resistance and immigration. In 1955-1959 Cyprus fought against the British coloniser. However, during the same period the majority of Cypriots chose Britain as the host immigration country. Orphanides (1986: 80-81) argues that Cypriot immigration to Britain can be traced back to pre-war times; reached its peak in the 1950s and early 1960s (EOKA armed resistance years and first years of Cypriot independence); and had a large wave of Cypriot exodus to Britain in 1974-75 (Turkish invasion in 1974). Therefore, what bind the Greek-Cypriots with the British are a former coloniser-colonised relationship that includes a war period and a current neo-colonial and immigrant-host relationship. Both relationships are permeated by power where the dominant force is the British as a coloniser or as the dominant ethnic community of the host country.

What emerges from the above accounts are two contradictory themes: a Cypriot aspired affiliation to the Greek Hellenic ethnos that may or may not be saturated by feelings 'of betrayal' (Papadakis et al., *ibid*); an armed struggle against the British coloniser followed by immigration and possible assimilation to the coloniser's country.

In view of these complexities and controversies, the Greek community schools in London may be described as educational institutions that accommodate a triptych of ethnic ideologies and interests that could be in conflict with each other. Interestingly, the national celebration that is under exploration encompasses all three ethnic aspects: it is the armed resistance of the '*Greek-Cypriots*' against the '*British*' colonial rule with the demand for self-determination and unification with '*Greece*'. Thus, it is challenging to explore how these three ideological representations are manifested within the theatre play of the celebration; and how these ideologies are perceived and negotiated by the members of the Greek community in London. Using Friere's (1998: 91) phraseology, how these Greek, Cypriot and British ethnic ideologies are

‘unmasked’ and ‘interrogated’ within the school context by the members of the community.

Greek, Cypriot and British Ethnic triptych within the theatre performance

The ethnic ideology that is mainly manifested through the performance is the Greek. This is evident from the title of the play: *‘Blue was the colour of the dream’* and the relevant comments by the playwright/educator. Mrs. Elena stressed, *‘I have chosen this title so as to show that our dream was to become part of Greece. Our fight was for Enosis and freedom. Blue is the colour of the Greek flag, a symbol for Greece, for the sky and the sea’* (see also earlier analysis Chapter 5 § 2.a). In this view, the title has a symbolic function that signifies one of the demands of the EOKA armed resistance: unification with Greece.

This emphasis on Enosis is identified with narratives of hellenocentrism³⁵- Cypriot belonging to the greater Hellenic ethnos (nation)- and the respective right-wing political ideologies (Mavratsas, 1999; Papadakis, 1998; Peristianis, 2006, Loizos, 1974, etc.). In contrast, Cyprocentrism, emphasises ‘the elements that unite all Cypriots, regardless of ethnicity, into one people (laos)’ (Peristianis, 2006: 102).

Behind these two types of nationalism there are implicit and explicit political ideologies and the respective identities that they inform. In this view, the right-wing political ideology endorses Hellenocentrism and ethnic nationalism. Conversely, the left-wing political ideology represents Cyprocentrism and territorial/civic nationalism. This is supported by Papadakis’ (1998: 157) research where he argues that the AKEL (left-wing) members use the narrative of peaceful coexistence where the insiders are all the Cypriots and the Other/outsideers may be the Greeks and/or Turks. Similarly, the DISI (right-wing) members use the narrative of Hellenism with all the Greeks as insiders and the Turks as outsiders. According to the findings of the UN Office of Project Services (2001), a strong correlation emerged between identity and political ideology: 69.8% of AKEL members reported that they view themselves as

³⁵ See also relevant theoretical background on Chapter 2 §4.a

'Cypriot' and 11% are 'more Cypriot than Greek'. Respectively, the DISI members reported 27.9% as 'Cypriot' and 7.9% 'more Cypriot than Greek'.

Therefore, as background theory and research suggest, the emphasis on '*Enosis*' and the '*Hellenic ethnos*' by the playwright, Mrs. Elena, might indicate ethnic nationalism and possible identification with the respective right-wing ideologies. This is also supported by her self-description comments: '*I am Greek, I was born Greek. There is no nationality such as Cypriot. We may not have the Greek flag but we share the same language, the same religion, and the same Hellenic ethnos. And the aim and dream of my generation was Enosis*'.

In view of the above, the emphasis of the school's theatre play on the demand of Enosis could be interpreted as a manifestation of an ethnic nationalistic ideology that is identified more with the right-wing Hellenocentric ideology. This emphasis might also be associated with a form of selectivity because it restrains, without excluding it, the anti-British ideological foundation of this struggle.

This selectivity may be attributed both to the school/playwright's political/nationalistic ideology or it might be a form of selectivity that acknowledges the attributes of the audience. Given that the celebration takes place in London and that the participant-performers and the audience are mostly British born Greek-Cypriots this form of selectivity regarding the anti-British aspect could be related to the school's policy of respecting ethnic diversity. As Mrs. Elena comments, '*there were students who participated in the play and their father was British. We should respect these differences*'.

In this view a possible strong anti-British rhetoric could trigger feelings of disrespect to members of the audience who feel close hereditary or ideological ethnic affiliation to Britain. Similarly the head-teacher argues, '*we try to keep a balance. We want the children to know what happened during the period of British colonisation but we don't want them to hate the British. Besides that, we live here, we could not do this in a different way*'. Therefore, there is an intentional

selectivity with the focus on Enosis that restrains the anti-British and anti-colonial discourse. This selectivity may be traced in many elements of the play.

The play is divided in eleven acts and in four different settings: the Hellenic Gymnasium in Paphos where Evagoras was a student; the mountains with the Greek-Cypriot guerilla soldiers; the prison; and Evagora's hanging. The majority of the characters (Evagoras, his parents, girlfriend, classmates, Greek-Cypriot guerillas) represent the Greek-Cypriots while the British side is limited to four characters that play the British soldiers. This unequal distribution of representation is in line with the playwright's intention to identify the EOKA fight more with the demand for Enosis rather than with the anti-colonial struggle. As Mrs. Elena commented earlier, '*the aim and dream of my generation was Enosis*'. This is also supported by the costumes and the use of some other symbols/props.

As regards the costumes, the British and the Greek-Cypriot soldiers wore similar military clothes (khaki military trousers, shirt and military fitted cap). The only difference that marks the distance between the coloniser and the colonised is the acronym EOKA that is written on top of the Greek-Cypriot soldier-caps. The props that symbolise the Greek-Cypriot fight for Enosis are presented in the second act where Evagoras along with his classmates, circulate pamphlets that they later post on stage. The pamphlets manifest the slogans of that era: 'Ελευθερία' (Freedom) and 'Ενωσις' (Unification).

Another important dimension is the representation of the three ethnic identities as expressed through the attributes of the characters. Despite the fact that there is no explicit reference to Greekness, as there are no Greek characters in the play, there are implicit references that denote the continuum between the Cypriot fighters and the Greek. Thus, there is a hidden rhetoric that manifests the belonging of the Cypriot heroes to the greater Hellenic ethnos. Such examples were given during the analysis of the religion theme, e.g. references to heroes of the Greek Revolution of 1821; sharing a common religious identity; phraseology

that denotes a collective historic identity, etc. Evident of this implicit representation is the beginning of the play:

1. *‘...το αίμα σας στις φλέβες τις δικές μου νοιώθω να κυλάει...*
 2. *Κολοκοτρώνης, Κανάρης, Παπαφλέσας, Μιαούλης, Μπουμπουλίνα,*
 3. *Μάτσης, Αυξεντίου, Παλληκαρίδης’*
- ‘...I can feel your blood running in my veins...*
- Kolokotronis, Kanaris, Papaflesas, Miaoulis, Mroumpoulina,*
- Matsis, Afxentiou, Pallikarides’*

(Act 1, narrator B)

In the above extract, the second line is dedicated in naming five heroes of the Greek Revolution of 1821 and the third line continues with the reference to three Greek-Cypriot heroes of the EOKA fight. Line one relates all these fighters to a historic continuum *‘your blood running in my veins’* that signposts hereditary Cypriot belonging to the Hellenic ethnos and elucidates the Cypriot demand for Enosis with Greece. Thus, it manifests Cypriot ethnic nationalism.

On the issue of nationalism within the school’s national celebrations, both the head-teacher and the playwright (Mrs. Elena) commented:

‘the celebrations include both national and nationalistic ideas and I consider both necessary. The national reminds you where you belong. The nationalistic, not with the negative sense that we are better than the others, but with a healthy intention, reminds you to honour and commemorate people who fought and died for an ethnic ideal’ (Head-teacher)

‘When I teach the historical background of the play I try not to fanaticise the students. I don’t know if it is national or nationalistic, I just tell them the truth. There is only white and black in history, no grey. The narrative that I select is mostly authentic; it is based on historical documents and narratives but I try to avoid extreme aspects. The dream of that generation was Enosis and freedom and I want them to know about these ideals’ (Mrs. Elena, playwright/educator).

In their accounts two interesting elements emerge: the former is the distinction between national and nationalistic; and, the latter is the report on the authentic historical narrative that selectively re-emphasises Enosis. The head-teacher argues that the type of nationalism that permeates the celebrations aims at fostering belonging and collective memory. Moreover, both participants refer to nationalism that is grounded on shared '*ethnic ideals*'.

The participants distinguish ethnic nationalism from chauvinism/patriotism. The former concept defines the nation in terms of ethnicity, which is respectively grounded on genealogical descent and a shared culture/history/language/religion between the members of the group and their ancestors. Interestingly, this type of nationalism is supported by the 'Greek Nationality law, which is based on the principle of *jus sanguinis*. Thus Greek citizenship may be acquired by descent or through naturalization' (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greek_nationality_law, accessed 03/03/13). These approaches treat ethnicity in an essential way, thus as an essence that remains stable and unchanged over time.

As regards the latter, the rhetoric of chauvinism is built on a belief of ethnic superiority or ethnic supremacy (*better than the others*). This type of nationalism is based more on exclusion criteria than on inclusion (e.g. shared values, culture, language, etc.). Adorno et al. (1950: 107) define this type of nationalism as 'pseudopatriotism, blind attachment to certain national cultural values, uncritical conformity with the prevailing group ways, and rejection of other nations as out-groups'.

Despite the head-teacher's argument that the celebrations are devoid of '*negative nationalism*' there are traces in his accounts that denote an implicit Greek ethnic supremacy: '*the students need to know the Greek history, e.g. that during the second world war we gave democracy not only to Greece and Cyprus but to Europe... we need to be proud of our ethnos, we offered the world the Greek ideals of democracy, freedom, philosophy*'. The emphasis on these ethnic ideals and

contributions might be both interpreted as ethnic supremacy or ethnic pride. However, what is more interesting for this study is how the members of the community perceive these ideologies; what kind of nationalism positions they adopt; and, whether they interrogate these imposed ideologies and ideals.

In summary, I argue that the ethnic triptych –Greek, Cypriot, and British- is not equally represented in the play. This unequal distribution of representation may be attributed to Cypriot ethnic nationalism and right wing political ideologies; or to the fact these celebrations address a British-born audience in London. Interestingly, the student-participants and the family members seem to ‘interrogate’ these ideologies, as they associate the play and the celebration more with the anti-colonial struggle and the ‘*Cypriot fight for Independence and freedom*’ (Mrs. Chrisa, Mr.Nikos & Mr. Ioannis-Parents/ Maria, Iasonas & Ellie-Students) than with the demand for Enosis (see Chapter 5 § 2.a Field Notes). Therefore, it will be interesting to explore further their perceptions regarding both the role of national celebrations and the theatre play’s representations.

Role of national celebrations

As regards the role of national celebrations, during the pilot study the participants report on three main domains: socialisation and bonding of the community members; historical consciousness; students’ self-esteem; heritage language use and/or development; and, ethnic identity. All three aspects seem to be strongly interrelated but I will present them separately only for purposes of analytical convenience.

The reported aspects on the role of national celebration performances are in line with the characteristics that Schechner attributes to performances. More explicitly,

Schechner (2002:38) identifies the following ‘functions of performance:

- To entertain
- To make something that is beautiful
- To mark or change identity
- To make or foster community

- To heal
- To teach, persuade or convince
- To deal with the sacred and/or the demonic’.

All these functions appear in the participants’ reports and reveal a strong association between rituals and performance. The close interrelation between performance/drama, play and ritual has been well established in the literature.

Clark et al. (1997:26) argue,

‘drama has its roots in the ritual ...as the principal means by which our remote ancestors made sense of, and imposed order upon their world; ...the spontaneous, unformed play of the child taps into these roots in ritual’.

In this view, these national celebratory performances might also function as rituals that affirm and/or reaffirm belonging to the community.

More explicitly regarding the social function of the national celebrations, the head-teacher comments, *‘each celebration and event that we organise gives an opportunity to the community to remember where do they come from. It is an opportunity for the family to come closer to the Greek community. You see that it is not only the parents that attend these celebrations, but also the grandparents, family members, friends. We come closer to each other and we remember our heroes, our fighters and our history’*. On the same issue, Mrs. Elena from the perspective of the teacher, reports, *‘these celebrations are also a social event for the community; we should not forget that many parents and students choose community education so as to make Greek friends. The school helps the students to feel that they belong to a group who shares the same characteristics’*.

In view of the above comments, the role of national celebrations may be identified with the social function of community education and furthermore with fostering sense of belonging to the Greek community. This is one of the functions that Schechner attributes to performance: ‘make or foster community’ (ibid). As Schechner (2002: 71) notes ‘whether one calls a specific performance ritual or theatre depends mostly on context and function’. More explicitly, depends on the

efficacious or entertainment character of the performance. If the performance is closer to the efficacious, thus to transform and make a change, then it is a ritual. Conversely, if it is closer to entertainment, artistic and aesthetic it is theatre. However, 'no performance is pure efficacy or pure entertainment' (ibid). The participants' comments indicate that these performances are treated more as rituals with an established efficacious character, than as pure entertainment performances.

These events are described as occasions that attract and gather members of the community (*family, extended family and friends*) to attend a ritual of historical commemoration '*remember where do they come from*'. The concept of remembrance is also part of Young's (2001) post-colonial discourse on global justice. He argues for 'historical acts of memory and of remembrance' (p. 61), retrieval of the 'full dimensions of independence movements' (p. 61) and re-consideration of colonial history, particularly from the perspectives of those who 'suffered its effects' (p. 64)' (cited in Gregoriou, 2004: 242). This ritual not only aims at sharing or learning a collective history but also encourages identification and membership with the historical community through reconsideration of colonial history and retrieval of memory.

In the participants' accounts there is a repeated pattern that emphasises memory (*remember-not to forget*) and collective self-positions (*we, our, share, same*). Both elements if aggregated lead to the concept of 'collective memory' that will be further explored in reference to the participants' reported perceptions on the historical role of national celebrations. Therefore, the community school can be described as a transnational space with the respective practices. Based on Faist's (2000) typology, transnational communities 'imply the emergence of public institutionalized practices that involve mobilization of collective representations and the emergence of a sense of solidarity based on ethnicity, religion, nationality, or place of origin' (cited in Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002: 769). This is further supported by the participants' reports on the efficacious, historical character of these institutionalised practices.

The head-teacher reports on this issue, '*these celebrations are a history lesson. The students have to know these historical events and remember who they are. It is part of the school's curriculum and aims... For me these celebrations should not be distinguished from the other community school lessons, these celebrations constitute a learning experience for the students*'. Similarly, the teacher, Mrs. Elena comments, '*the celebrations are above all a history lesson for the students and the community. In order to understand where do they come from, they need to learn our history. Through their participation in the theatre plays the students understand in praxis some parts of their history... they live it through the enactment of the play...our history is part of who we are and when the students enact historical plays they can understand what Greece and Cyprus went through*'.

The participants not only link the national celebrations to history learning but also identify the performance as a learning experience (efficacious character). Furthermore, they argue that this experience has a transformative impact on identity and collective memory. As regards the learning character of these performances, the concept of 'teach, persuade or convince' has also been mentioned as one of the functions of ritual performances (Schechner, *ibid*). Moreover, Mrs. Elena comments on a practical, living experience of learning attributed to the performing aspect of these historical theatre plays.

Dewey (1934: 36) argues that

'experience occurs continuously, because the interaction of live creature and envioning conditions is involved in the very process of living... aspects and elements of the self and the world that are implicated in this interaction qualify this experience with emotions and ideas so that conscious intent emerges'.

In view of this argument and the participants' comments, participation in the national celebrations is composed into an experience where emotions, ideas - and/or ideologies- are implicated. This experience, which is grounded in a theatre performance, is both artistic and aesthetic. Where the former refers to 'the art of production' and the latter (aesthetic) 'to that of perception' (Dewey,

ibid). This artistic/aesthetic learning experience envelops both the participant-receivers and the participant-performers in a vivid interaction between the self and the other. The product of this interaction might be new understandings that will emerge on the basis of a shared experience. Respectively, this sharing can also encourage identification both with the members of the community who participate in this emotional/ideological experience and with the enacted historical figures.

Therefore, Mrs. Elena (teacher) acknowledges the impact of drama on creating 'as if real' conditions that result in learning experiences that encourage identification. The head-teacher's comments are in line with this argument and support the positive impact of drama: *'we encourage the children to go on stage and live this experience. It is good for their self-confidence and self-esteem. Through these performances the students not only learn a few lines, but they also expose themselves on stage and this has a positive impact on their personality as they explore their talents in music, dance and drama'*.

The head-teacher's reported perceptions highlight the positive impact that drama experiences could have on the students' self-esteem and self-concept. Moreover, he regards these performances and celebrations as creative opportunities where the students explore and express their artistic talents. Both arguments are well supported by background theory and research on drama and theatre in education.

A number of scholars indicate a positive relation between drama and self-esteem/self-concept. For instance, 'in a previous meta-analysis of 16 studies (which included six sources on self-esteem) Kardash and Wright (1987) concluded that creative drama appeared to have a positive effect on the self-esteem' (Conard & Asher, 2010: 78). As Grotowski believed, authentic theatre performances permit the peeling away of 'life mask', thus everyday social roles, and allow 'the performer to come face to face with that inner core of being that is the true self' (Neelands & Dobson, 2000:98). Similarly, the participants report

that the school's celebrations allow the students to explore aspects of their 'self' while participating in national theatre performances.

Lastly, the participants comment on the positive impact that these performances have on the students' linguistic identity. Mrs. Elena (teacher) argues, *'these celebrations offer a great opportunity not only for an acting performance but also for using in public the language that they learn... When they perform in Greek they feel more Greek'*. On the same issue the head-teacher commented, *'through these performances the children develop their sense of Greek identity: they learn the language, the history, their ethos and traditions, they learn about our ethnos. ...the majority of the students understand what they are saying on stage and this helps them a lot with improving and developing competence in Greek. They feel proud to speak Greek on stage in front of their parents and grandparents'*.

The aspect of language re-emerges as an element of identity (see also Chapter 6) but it is also associated with the theatre performances. The participants report that the celebrations give the opportunity to the students to employ the heritage language in real life conditions and in public and this respectively has a positive impact on their sense of ethnic identity.

Background theory and research proposes 'uses of drama to support second and additional language learning' (Winston, 2012: 5). The concept that underlies this argument is that the drama 'fictional context provided many authentic opportunities for the development of speaking, listening, reading and writing' (Palechorou and Winston's, 2012: 52). Nevertheless, what differentiates these studies and theories from the current research context is the mode of drama that is employed. Within the majority of these studies drama is approached as 'process drama' and/or as 'a learning medium'. Within the Greek community school drama is employed as a performing medium where the students have limited agency in the drama learning process. Therefore, it will be interesting to explore in the main study the students' reported perceptions on the role of these form of theatre performances in reference to heritage language development.

An interesting element that emerges from the participants' reports on the role of the national celebrations is the focus on elements of individual and collective identity. More explicitly, they associate these performances with a social function; with learning experiences of history and heritage language; and, with the students' self-esteem and self-concept. With the exception of the latter element that emphasises the students' personal development (individual identity) the other reports associate explicitly the role of celebrations with self-positions of a collective ethnic identity. These collective self-positions, along with the element of history and language associate the national celebrations with the concept of collective memory. Collective memory is respectively associated with history, identity, rituals and hegemonic ideologies.

Historians, sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists and political scientists have investigated the concept of 'collective memory'. As stressed earlier it is linked to ritual, because 'contemporary usages of the term are largely traceable to Emile Durkheim (1915-1961) who wrote about commemorative rituals' (Olick, 1999: 334); it is also linked to history, as 'memory needs a place, a context. Its place, if it finds one that lives beyond a single generation, is to be found in the stories that we tell... in historical narrative' (Kenny, 1999:421); lastly, collective memory is linked to the reproduction of hegemonic ideologies as it entails a process of selectivity which usually favours the interests of those in power.

As Weedon & Jordan (2012: 143) assert,

'collective memory and the institutions and practices that support it help to create, sustain and reproduce the "imagined communities" with which individuals identify and that give them a sense of history, place and belonging (Anderson 1981)'.

In this view, the national celebrations are historical narratives that are repeated in the form of a ritual every year on a specific day within State institutions such as schools. However, history is selective per se. 'The historical past – whether real or imagined- is selectively arranged to validate what appears to be an

accurate and truthful portrayal of what once existed some time ago' (Murray, 2007: 246-247). Therefore, these historical narratives might be selectively collected memories that impose ethnic ideologies and encourage the creation of 'meaningful contexts of identification' (Weedon & Jordan, 2012: 143). The imposition, production and reproduction of these ideologies are accomplished through State education. As the head-teacher stressed earlier, '*these celebrations are a history lesson... It is part of the school's curriculum and aims*'. Thus, the ideological function that underlies the celebrations is to present an opportunity for the community members to learn or remember a shared collective past; to affirm or reaffirm belonging to this real or imagined historical continuum.

In summary, the pilot study revealed interesting aspects that will be explored further during the main study. The participants' reported perceptions on the role of national celebrations indicate an efficacious ritual character that is associated with language, history and ethnic identity. Moreover, the symbolic representations of the theatre play along with the participants' responses revealed disposition toward ethnic nationalism and the respective right-wing ideologies. These initial findings and the relevant theory will inform further the main study so as to explore how teachers, parents and students perceive and negotiate the ideological representations and the role of national celebrations in reference to ethno-cultural identity.

2. The Main Study

a. Field notes

In the main study the theme of national celebrations was explored in a variety of ways. The main sub-category that emerged from the students' accounts during the preparation of the play was related to the historical context of the play and the respective symbolic representations. The students while exploring the historical narrative of the play questioned both the role of the Queen during the colonial period and in contemporary Britain. Another important dimension that emerged during the classroom interaction was the questioning and exploration of the role of national celebrations within the Greek community school. The students raised the question: 'Why do we need to do this every year?' The

extracts from the classroom field notes give an insight into the students' reported perceptions regarding both the historical symbolic representations and the role of national celebrations.

Questioning History: Do I like the Queen now?

As stressed at the beginning of this chapter, the community school may be described as a complex educational field where different and sometimes contested ethnic ideologies coexist. This complexity becomes bigger especially in reference to British ethnic representations. The historical context of the celebration under research is the Cypriot anti-colonial, thus anti-British, EOKA armed resistance. In the following extract, the students, who are born and raised in London, negotiate the colonial role of the Queen, the post-colonial role of the Cypriots and they explore their self-positions within the British and Greek-Cypriot historical continuum.

1. *Teacher- Evagoras was arrested, trialled and sentenced to death. His mother appealed to Queen Elizabeth to forgive her son but the Queen denied the appeal and he was hanged in 1957.*
2. *Victoria- You mean the Queen Elizabeth that we have now?*
3. *Teacher- Yes.*
4. *Victoria- I don't like the Queen any more. She is bad.*
5. *George- Miss, you know her husband is Greek. Why he didn't do anything to save Evagoras? And you know, I think the Cypriots are all hypocrites. Because they were fighting the British to get their freedom and then we all moved to England.*
6. *Elena- I am confused. Why is the Queen bad? Why she didn't let him live?*
7. *Maria- I don't understand what is the point of all these wars, because if you look at the economy right now it is really bad. So, why do they keep on fighting?*
8. *Ellie- What I don't understand is why they don't teach these things at English school and we learn them only in the Greek school.*
9. *Victoria- Because they don't want us to know that they did these things to us.*
10. *Maria- They want us to know only their history. That is why we are coming to the Greek school. To learn our history. My yiayia talks to me about the war and the soldiers.*

(Audio Recorded Classroom Field Notes, 11/02/12)

The aforementioned extract is evident of the ways that students question the historical context of these celebrations; the contested ethnic ideologies; and, their sense of belonging 'in-between' (Bhabha) the two ethnic communities. The

incident begins with the historical narrative of Evagora's story. The teacher narrates Evagora's arrest, trial and sentence (line 1). Victoria interrupts the lesson and asks if the teacher refers to the current Queen of England (line 2). It is interesting that the student employs in an inclusive way the personal pronoun 'we' to denote membership to the British people who are under the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The teacher's positive answer confirms that it is Queen Elizabeth II who denied Evagora's appeal. This triggers a classroom discussion with Victoria's immediate response: *I don't like the Queen any more* (line 4). Victoria's comment in turn generates Elena's confusion: *I am confused. Why is the Queen bad?* (line 6).

In view of the students' negative comments about the Queen and the respective sympathy about Evagoras, it may be argued that the historical context of the play encouraged identification with the main hero and the respective ethnic identity. As stressed in earlier parts of the analysis (Chapters 5 & 6) the 'realist' or 'naturalist' character of the play along with the 'authentic' historical narrative ('*authentic dialogues*', Mrs. Elena) facilitate unquestionable acceptance, empathy and identification (Neelands, 2000). However, there is evidence in the students' accounts that they might accept, empathise or identify with the main hero but they do not necessarily accept unquestionably the implicit ethnic ideologies that are embedded in the play.

The reported confusion in the students' accounts regarding the role of the Queen may be attributed to the ambivalent feelings that the students experience as British-born citizens. The Other in the story that they enact, thus the enemy, is the same person that they will honour two months later with the occasion of Jubilee. It is as if the story dismantles the students' habitus. A habitus that is rooted in the dominant English environment and constantly formed and informed by the British mainstream education.

The concept of habitus in Bourdieu's theory

'is a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways.

The dispositions are inculcated, socially structured, durable, generative and

transposable and can generate practices, perceptions and attitudes' (1991: 12-13).

In this view, the students' habitus might reflect the dominant social structure under which it was acquired, e.g. English education habitus. However, their Greek family or the Greek community school also inform the students' habitus. In the above case the two sources of the students' habitus (British and Greek-Cypriot) are in contest and this creates a tension that is expressed and negotiated in a variety of ways.

Evident of the tension and confusion is the situational interplay between the personal pronouns 'we' and 'our' that sometimes denote membership to the Greek-Cypriot community and others to the British. For instance, in line 2 the use of 'we' (Victoria) might indicate membership to the British community. Conversely, the same student in line 9 uses 'they' to represent the British and 'us' to refer to the Cypriot. There is a similar use of the pronoun 'they' that might represent the Other or denote exclusion. Sometimes the use of the pronoun 'they' refers to the British and others to the Cypriots. This is evident in line 5 when George refers to Cypriots as 'they' but later he employs 'we' to refer to the same community. This interplay of the pronouns indicates the students' confusion regarding their membership. It is as if they negotiate their sense of belonging both to the dominant British and to the Greek-Cypriot community.

Furthermore, this interplay of pronouns suggests a variety of self-positions, which is in line with Hall's (1991: 15) argument that 'the process of identification is something that happens over time, that is never absolutely stable, that is subject to the play of history and the play of difference'. It is also related to Hermans' 'dialogical self theory' (2002, 2010). Hermans' theory draws on two elements: on Jame's distinction between I and Me and on Bakhtin's polyphonic novel (2002: 147). According to Bakhtin, people speak in social languages that represent collective voices of groups and institutions. Hermans' argues that 'both self and society function as a polyphony of consonant and dissonant voices. In a

multivoiced society and a multivoiced self there is intersubjective exchange and the positions are characterised by dominance and power' (2002: 148).

In view of these theories, the above extract may be interpreted as a multivoiced dialogical exchange between the self (student) and the Greek-Cypriot/British narrative (society). It is a polyphony of dissonant voices that represent two collective voices and two different ethno-cultural institutions. The result of this polyphony is the reported ambivalence in the students' reported Greek and British self-positions. Thus, the students might hold both ethnic self-positions that are situational and context bounded but may not be 'never absolutely stable' (Hall, *ibid*).

Another interesting element in the aforementioned classroom extract is the student's report that characterises the Cypriots as '*hypocrites*' (line 5 George). George detects a contradiction between fighting someone as an enemy and then move to his country. As he comments, '*they were fighting the British to get their freedom and then we all moved to England*'. This tension has been analysed early in this chapter (§1 pilot study) when discussing the coexistence of three different ethnic ideologies (Greek-Cypriot-British) within the Greek community school. The student's comment indicates that the students do not accept unquestionably the school's imposed ideologies. On the contrary, they question the controversies that they detect and the respective communities that inform these controversies.

George shows a critical stance towards both the Cypriot and the British communities. He questions the role of the Greek-origin husband of Queen Elizabeth; the role of Cypriots in moving to the former enemy's country; and, later the British colonial practice: '*Since Cyprus was a British colony, it is like they were killing their own people*' (line 14). This critical stance might be attributed to contested identities or different ethnic self-positions. It also indicates that the students do not produce or reproduce unquestionably the institutions' imposed ideologies. While negotiating their role within this dual-ethnic historical continuum, they explore and critique the historical representations that are transmitted through both institutions.

Lastly, another significant point that is made by the students is the role and truth of history within the educational system. In lines 8, 9 & 10 Ellie, Victoria and Maria struggle between the acceptance or denial of established historical ideologies that are imposed by two different educational systems: mainstream and community education. The students report on an intentional selectivity that aims at protecting the dominant educational system from a negative exposure: *'they don't want us to know that they did these things to us'* (Victoria, line 9). The students interrogate and reject this selectivity. This results in identification with the educational system whose selectivity is not apparent to the students. This identification with the Greek educational system and the respective historical narrative is evident in Maria's account (line 10) where she provides a distinction between *'their history'* and *'our history'*.

This distinction not only indicates membership to the Greek historical community but also shows that the students detect that there might not be an absolute truth in history; history is relational and situational. It is bounded to the attributes of the educational system that transmits this historical narrative and it is related to legitimised, hegemonic ideologies. These ideologies are produced and reproduced within the State's institutions so as to ensure that relations of domination will be established and maintained (Bourdieu, 1991). The production and circulation of these historical ideologies within mainstream and community education serves respectively the interests of those who express them and those who produce them. The tension arises here because there are two different institutional sources that produce contested ideologies and the students feel that they have to choose whose ideologies they will endorse and reproduce. More explicitly, where do they stand within that imagined continuum of *'their and our history'*?

In order to explore the students' perceptions further, a follow-up discussion on the same issue was planned. During that discussion the students reported further on their perceptions about the colonial and contemporary role of the Queen. Thus, the historical play invited the students to discuss not only elements

of the past, but to find the threads that link the past to the present. More explicitly, to explore their positions within these contested ideologies and their personal experiences.

11. Maria- *I don't like the Queen. I never liked her. She is just lazy sitting there and takes our money.*
12. Victoria- *mmmm, I used to like her but not like really-really like her. I didn't care to be honest. She is just the Queen. But now I don't think I like her.*
13. Iasonas- *I think that what she did was cruel. She rejected Evagoras' request and she hanged a young boy.*
14. George- *I think that what she did wasn't good, I don't really like her. Actually, I never did. But when she said that Evagoras should be killed it was like killing their own people because Cyprus was their colony, so they governed the Cypriots and they killed their own people. Since Cyprus was a British colony, it is like they were killing their own people.*
15. Elena- *I don't really care about the Queen. I think the parliament is more important, because we vote for the parliament but we don't vote for the Queen. And the parliament tells the Queen what to do.*
16. Constantinos- *I think she is mean. And I don't understand why she should kill Evagoras.*
17. Constantina- *I think she is selfish and she only thought about her empire and not the innocent lives.*
18. Ellie- *Πρώτον, δεν μου αρέσει η βασίλισσα γιατί πρέπει να **πλερώνουμε** πολύ tax [Firstly, I don't like the Queen because we have to pay a lot of tax] και εκείνη δεν κάνει τίποτε, κάθεται **δαμέ, εν** τεμπέλισσα. [and she just sits there doing nothing, she is lazy]. And second of all, δεν διαβάζει τα γράμματα και young children θα **πεθάνουσι** γιατί **εβαρκέτου** να διαβάσει ένα γράμμα. [And second of all, she doesn't read the letters and young children will die because she was bored to read the letter]. Like all those Cypriots who died during the war.*
19. Maria- *I think the Queen, I don't know....she owns her position as the Queen. We don't have the choice to have her or not. She is like.... not a nice person, she killed young people like Evagoras. And I don't like that Cyprus was a British colony and she was like killing all those innocent people.*
20. Ioannis- *You know the Queen takes all that money from the tax and there are people in the streets like really poor people who have no money and she spends all that money that she gets on what? To buy hats and have a big house? She is just sitting there.*
21. R- *Did you have the same feelings for the Queen before the play...*
22. Ioannis- *and after*
23. *Some students agree by saying yes, yes*
24. Victoria- *Is there a reason that she always wears hats? (they all laugh)*
25. Iasonas- *I know that she is a special person; she is not like the rest of us. But I think that she doesn't do anything special to help England and also she killed a young 18-year-old boy and I think what she did is selfish. She should have helped him.*

26. Ellie- *Like before the play we haven't really thought about the Queen but now it made us think about that; if she is nice or not. And there are people who don't know about that, that she killed innocent people and young people. So, people should know all the history about the Queen.*
 27. Ioannis- *And I don't like that she wanted to control other countries like Cyprus or Spain. It is selfish.*
 28. Maria- *I don't like the Queen because I think it is unfair to be so rich when other people are poor. That's what really I don't like about her. She is charging us with tax and we need to pay and she keeps the money but she is not doing something. I don't like the way she runs everything. She hasn't done anything.*
 29. Antonis- *She just sits there, doing nothing and she takes our money.*
 30. Constantina- *She told someone to kill a young boy and I don't like her for that.*
 31. Victoria- *I don't like Queens.*
 32. Constantinos- *She told them to kill Evagoras because he was Cypriot. If it were one of her family or a British soldier she wouldn't do the same.*
 33. George- *I know many people who complain about the Queen. I don't think there are many people who like her.*
 34. Elena- *She just has so much power and she does what she wants.*
- (Audio Recorded Classroom Field Notes, 03/03/12)

In the above extract the students question the power and role of the Queen in reference to Evagora's story (Iasonas, 13; George, 14; Constantinos, 16; Maria, 19; Constantina, 30); to the history of Cyprus (George, 14; Ioannis, 27); to the colonial period (Constantina, 17; Ellie, 18; Maria, 19; Ioannis, 27) and, to her role in Britain (Elena, 15; Ellie, 18; Ioannis, 20; Iasonas, 25; Maria, 28; Antonis 29). The majority of the students report that the play did not have a direct impact on their perceptions about the role of the Queen. Prior to the teaching of the play they were either indifferent to her presence (Elena, 15; Ellie, 26) or they already had established negative feelings about her, '*I never liked her*' (Maria, 11; George, line 14; Ioannis, 22, line 23).

What the students question is the unequal distribution of power and wealth that they detect between the Queen and the Cypriot people or between the Queen and the British people. The students reject the idea that the Queen has so much power that she may decides for the '*lives of innocent people*'. Furthermore, they reject the idea of her power not only against the Cypriot people but also against other colonial communities. As Ioannis (27) stresses, '*I don't like that she wanted to control other countries like Cyprus or Spain*'. In this view, the play did not only

encourage identification with the Cypriot people but also with other marginalised groups that might be deprived of power and wealth. As Maria (28) commented, *'I think it is unfair to be so rich when other people are poor. That's what really I don't like about her'* (see also Ioannis, 20).

Lastly, the students were also critical of the Queen's role in reference to the political system. As Elena (15) stressed, *'I think the parliament is more important, because we vote for the parliament but we don't vote for the Queen'*. Elena recognises a legitimised status in the parliament that is derived from the democratic process of election and vote. Conversely, she criticises the hereditary status of the Queen because she is not elected but imposed through the constitutions of the Crown. Thus, Elena's account may be described as a debate between two controversial political systems: democracy and monarchy. These two political narratives in many countries, Great Britain inclusive, are accommodated (sometimes euphemistically) under the term constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary system.

In summary of the students' accounts and the earlier discussion of the pilot study, there is evidence that the students do not necessarily accept the ideologies of Cypriot ethnic nationalism regarding Enosis and belonging to a greater Hellenic ethnos. Their accounts focus mostly on the anti-colonial context of the play, which they critique on several grounds. The play of Evagoras encourages the students to identify with the hero and the respective dominated community. This identification gave the opportunity to the students to explore aspects of colonial and post-colonial power. Their accounts indicate rejection of dominating powers that result in economical and cultural inequalities. Lastly, the students' reports gave evidence of exploration of history and ethnic historical identity. Through the play the students explored evidence of two histories (*their history-our history*) that are transmitted by two educational systems. This exploration increased their awareness on history and selectivity (*they don't want us to know*) and on intentionally imposed ideologies. The students' reported perceptions on the aforementioned issues would be further explored during the interviews and the survey in order to gain an in-depth insight into aspects of ethnic

representations as related to identity and possibly in reference to contested self-positions.

Role of National Celebrations: Why do we need to do this every year?

As stressed earlier in the analysis, the performances and commemoration of national celebrations could be identified as rituals where the community affirms and/or re-affirms ethnic identity related self-positions permeated by power relations. As Boal (2006: 31) argues, 'our societies are spectacular in the aesthetic sense of the word, because they are based on power relations, and power demands signs and rituals'. An interesting element that emerged in the classroom data was the questioning and the critique of the repetitive, thus ritualistic character of these celebrations. The students' previous reports indicated that they do not accept unquestionably the historical power relations. However, as it will be stressed later it is not only the ideologies that are challenged, but also the ritual process where these ideologies are embedded.

A tension that can be identified in the students' accounts is the acceptance-question of the ritual of celebration. The students' contradictory reported perceptions could also be interpreted as situational and context-bound perceptions. This means that there are students who actually challenge the repetitive character of these performances, and/or students who reproduce the hegemonic institutionalised character of the celebrations and accept unquestionably the legitimised repetition of these performances. More explicitly:

1. *Iasonas- Miss, I don't understand. Why do we need to do this every year?*
 2. *Constantinos- Yes, sometimes it is boring. We know these stories and we do them every year.*
 3. *Ellie- It is part of who we are. Because if my pappou [grandfather] was in that war we should know about these things and histories.*
 4. *Maria- We need to know our history. Because these people gave their lives for our country and we need to remember it.*
 5. *Constantinos- Yes, we need to know our history.*
 6. *Fanoula- My yiayia [grandmother] had a young brother and he was killed in that war.*
 7. *Antonis- That's why we do it every year, to honour our family.*
- (Audio Recorded Classroom Field Notes, 11/02/12)

At the beginning of the extract, two students, Iasonas and Constantinos (lines 1 & 2), question the role of national celebrations. The question is not a direct, explicit critique of the celebration but of the repetition, thus of the ritualistic character of these performances. Ellie and Maria (lines 3 & 4) respond to the students' question by associating positively the function of these celebrations with history, family and memory. Interestingly, Constantinos after the students' intervention comments '*Yes, we need to know our history*'. It is as if he repositions himself regarding the value of this ritual through peer-assisted shared learning. The extract finishes with two students (Fanoula and Antonis) who emphasise the family historical relevance of these celebrations and the significance of commemoration.

In the above extract there is a repeated pattern between the '*need*' to '*know and remember*' an ethnic '*history*' (lines 4 & 5) which is hereditary, thus related to the students' '*family history*' (lines 3, 6 & 7). This hereditary family aspect functions as a factor that imposes to the students' an imagined or even compulsory (*we need*) sense of belonging. The students manifest this belonging when they report that this historical celebration is '*part of who we are*' (Ellie, line 3). This reported membership associates the students with a historical continuum that embraces their family members and the members of the Greek '*imagined community*' (Anderson, 2006). This belonging is accentuated with the use of the possessive pronoun '*our*'. The students refer to Cyprus as '*our country*' and to the respective Cypriot history as '*our history*' (Maria and Constantinos, lines 4 & 5).

The above reported tension indicates that the students do not question the value of the national celebrations per se but the ritualistic character of these celebrations. More explicitly, the students negotiate the value of the celebrations in reference to history and the collective identity that this history represents but do not accept the repetitive character of this ritual. However, the element of repetition is an embedded characteristic of rituals, traditions and customs. It is this repetitive character that legitimises and establishes the ideological representations that are manifested through these celebrations.

Hobsbawm emphasises the function of repetition in 'invented traditions'. He employs this term to include

'both traditions that are actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less easily traceable way within a brief and dateable period –a matter of few years perhaps- and establishing themselves with great rapidity' (Hobsbawm, 1983: 1).

An essential characteristic of the process of inventing traditions is 'formalization and ritualization, characterised by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition' (ibid: 4).

In view of Hobsbawm's argument, the commemoration of national celebrations may also be characterised as an 'invented tradition' that is established through repetition on a specific date; formalised and legitimised through state institutions such as schools; and, certainly characterised by reference to the past that includes both the Cypriot and the Hellenic history. The product or by-product of these invented traditions is the establishment of unquestioned and often aggressive predispositions towards new and different information. This may be translated as the establishment of an ethnic habitus that may be hostile towards alterity or the Other by endorsing criteria of inclusion or exclusion. Though the students may not manifest explicitly exclusion, the aforementioned use of the possessive pronouns 'we' and 'our' indicate inclusion.

In summary, the students report positively on the historical context of these celebrations but question repetition, thus the invention of the respective historical tradition. The reports embrace positively the concept of membership to the historical continuum and the respective ethnic community but do not necessarily embrace the rituals that are identified with the history and the community. This contradiction may be attributed to the students' dual ethno-cultural habitus. This means that the students are not familiar with similar national celebrations from British mainstream education and for this reason they might regard the Greek-community-school rituals as strange or '*boring*' (Constantinos, line 2). The role of national celebrations will be further explored

during the interviews and the survey, so as to gain a more detailed insight into the community's reported perceptions regarding the value and the symbolic representation of this ritualistic invented tradition.

b. Interviews and survey

The coding process for the analysis of the interview and the survey data is similar to that applied for the other two main themes: religion and language. This means that I follow the same approaches regarding both triangulation and grounded-theory related analysis. The theory and the literature review inform the data collection and analysis. Similarly, the analysis of the pilot study and the respective field notes further inform the interview and survey data collection and analysis. Through this approach I maintain the combined inductive-deductive approach while trying to gain an insight into the participants' perspectives.

In this view, the sub-categories that emerged from this approach are the following: national celebrations in reference to the community school; in reference to the family and the community; and, in reference to the students' identity. As noted in several parts of the analysis, this coding process serves only purposes of analytical convenience and should not be treated as bound or exclusive. This means that within natural setting conditions, these sub-categories may be merged and co-exist even if they are in conflict.

National Celebrations within the Community School

The triptychs that have been depicted between 'religion-community school-identity' (Chapter 5) and 'language-community school-identity' (Chapter 6) re-emerges under the theme of national celebrations. The participants' reported perceptions reveal a strong relation/expectation in the triptych national celebrations, community education and identity. Moreover, they associate this relation with aspects of history, culture, language and sometimes religion. The data suggest that the participants report on the national celebrations as an element that can foster belonging and pride in the Greek community.

More explicitly, the teacher-participants' comments on the role of national celebrations present interesting and often contradictory aspects. Mr. Kostas argues, *'The national celebrations give a good opportunity to the teachers to teach issues of our national history and our religion. Through the theatre plays the teachers do not only speak for the national wars but also for the heroes who played a significant role in the ethnic struggles of our ethnos'*. Following a similar pattern, Mrs. Fane comments, *'The national celebrations are an important part of the community school life because through these celebrations the school affects aspects of their identity. It gives them [the students] a sense of belonging: you are Greeks and you have this religion and you learn the history of your country. These celebrations are also important for the family; a link between all generations. Because as they attend these events all together, students, parents and grandparents, it is as if they share the same history, as if they share a common belonging'. On the same issue, Mrs. Anna reports, 'the celebrations are very important for the school, the students and the family. It reminds them every now and then that some people contributed in a certain way. It reminds them the names of these people and the time of these events. Through repetition the students might start wondering what actually happened; who were these people; why we commemorate them every year. However, the replication of these celebrations, that they do it the same way every year does not help the students. These celebrations should focus more on teaching history no matter how hard it is to approach the effective teaching of historical events'. Lastly, Mrs. Melanie stresses, *'the celebrations is something that we have to do; something we like to do but we don't know how to do it, the right way to do it. These celebrations serve mainly emotional needs of the community and aspects of identity and belonging. If they were approached in a different way the students could probably understand history, language and culture. Now, I think that everyone is confused with these celebrations. We repeat the same celebrations every year, because they do the same thing in Cyprus and Greece, as if we imitate them'*.*

The main themes that emerge from the teachers' reported perceptions are history, language, religion, identity, shared belonging and repetition. The aforementioned aspects are identified with the role of national celebrations not

only by the teachers but also by some parent- and student-participants. Moreover, some of these aspects have also emerged during the pilot study (e.g. history, identity, sense of belonging, intergenerational issues) and during the analysis of field notes (e.g. history, repetition, collective identity). Therefore, I have chosen to analyse them under separate sub-headings so as to attempt an in-depth, ethnographic analysis and interpretation of the different aspects that are identified with the role of national celebrations within the community school.

1 National Celebrations and History

In the participants' responses, there is an apparent association between national celebrations and history, where national celebrations are treated as rituals identified with the commemoration of an historical event. This is strongly supported by the pilot study, the field notes and the teachers' reported perceptions. Moreover, additional data from the students' survey also indicate a strong link between participation in the national celebrations and learning history. More explicitly, in Question 8³⁶ the students were asked to rank three choices under the theme 'When I do plays at Greek school'. In their responses, 13/20 (65%) students have chosen the answer 'I learn Greek history' where 8 students ranked this as a first choice, 4 as a second and 1 as a third choice.

Moreover, this pattern of linking history learning to national celebrations also emerged during the students' interviews. Constantina reports, '*we do the celebrations so as to learn our Greek history' and remember the people who gave their lives for us'. In a similar way, Iasonas stresses, '[we do it] so that we don't forget where we come from and our independence day and how and why we said OXI, just to remember what Cyprus and Greece went through. It is important for our history and we should know it'. On the same issue, Maria comments, '*we do it so that we don't forget. We need to remember what our ancestors have done for us, for our freedom, our religion and our country. It is our history'. Lastly, Ellie argues, '*we do all those things to make that day special. Because all those things have happened, it is our family history. And people gave their lives and we commemorate it when we participate and prepare the play'.***

³⁶ Appendix A

What emerges from the students' accounts is in line with the classroom data (see field notes analysis §a). Two concepts prevail again: history and memory. The students stress the need to know '*our history*' so that '*we don't forget*'. Thus, the national celebrations are reported as learning experiences that maintain a collective memory. However, the students in the classroom have made an interesting distinction between the dichotomy of '*our history and their history*', thus the students pointed at the subjectivity of history. As Barton and Levstik (2004: 4) argue, many scholars in order to identify different ways of approaching the past have made similar dichotomies, such as history and heritage; history and the past; analytic history and collective memory, etc. However, these dichotomies often result in additional polarisation with authentic and inadequate approaches. This problem of how to approach history has also been highlighted by the teachers.

Two of the teacher-participants, Mrs. Anna and Mrs. Melanie, in a previous extract question the effectiveness of the historical learning experience. Mrs. Anna acknowledges that teaching history effectively is hard (*no matter how hard it is to approach the effective teaching of historical events*) but she argues that the school should focus more on the historical context than the celebratory character of these events. Similarly, Mrs. Melanie argues that the current approach to the national celebrations deprives the students from a thorough understanding of '*history, language and culture*'. Instead of facilitating historical knowledge it results in '*confusion*'.

On the issue of confusion, Mrs. Fane (teacher) made a similar comment and narrated the following anecdote: '*the students get confused and they rarely understand the historical background. After the celebrations I ask them what do we celebrate and they always get confused. We should dedicate more time on teaching history than on preparing the celebration*'. Regarding the students' degree of confusion, Mrs. Melanie is more optimistic: '*they have a clearer picture of the events than I had at their age. Even students who are in Greece and Cyprus*

get confused with the enemies of each war. That's why I think that the approach is ineffective in both educational systems'.

The teachers' accounts report on the teaching of history as problematic or ineffective. As Barton and Levstik (2004: ix) argue, 'history education is beset by continual controversy, as historians, politicians, educators, and the public at large argue about what should be taught to the nation's children and how it should be presented'. Both the approach and the content of history education seem to evoke tensions as history per se is sometimes controversial and subjectivist. Apple (1990) depicts in the curriculum a hegemonic selectivity both in science and social studies that results in continual controversies, which penetrate history education.

As Apple postulates there is a hidden curriculum that aims at disguising or concealing controversies and conflicts that are central both in science and society. The students' agency is limited and they are implicitly treated 'as value-transmitting and value-receiving persons rather than as value-creating persons in much of their school experience' (Apple, 1990: 93). Therefore, the students are presented with unquestionable tacit social values that 'social conflict is not an essential feature of society'; that 'consensus and internal dissension contribute to the ongoing maintenance of society'; that 'conflict is antithetical to the smooth functioning of social order' (ibid: 93). This kind of orientation legitimises conformity and discourages any oppositional or transformative forces that might surface. Struggle and conflict are acceptable norms only when consensus, stability and maintenance are jeopardised. For this reason history and the respective wars/strife are presented within the curriculum in a biased way. 'Our side is good; their side is bad. *We* are peace loving and want an end to strife; *they* are warlike and aim to dominate' (Apple, 1990: 85). Therefore, this hidden curriculum in the subject of history aims at imposing a tacit ideological assumption that 'conflict is negative'. These assumptions enlarge hegemony because 'they reside not at the roof but the root of our brains' (ibid: 87) and limit any potency of struggle and opposition against the presented (fictitious or imagined) social order.

Heraclitus, a pre-Socratic Greek philosopher and dialectician, has also raised the transformative potential that is rooted in oppositional or conflict forces.

Boal (1979:5) argues that

‘For Heraclitus the transforming element would exist within the thing itself, as an opposing force. *“War is the mother of all things; opposition unifies, for that which is separated creates the most beautiful harmony; all that happens, only happens because there is struggle”*’.

Therefore, when the educational system marginalises conflict as a non-essential feature of society, it suppresses opposing transformative forces that could possibly emancipate those individuals or groups that are oppressed by hegemony.

In this view, the historical content that is transmitted within the educational institutions serves a dual hegemonic role: it reproduces and legitimises the hegemonic ideology of the nation and it discourages prospective struggles and conflicts that could change/transform existing power relations. Some of the teacher-participants acknowledge the difficulty of teaching history (Mrs. Anna) and respectively acknowledge the controversies that surface from teaching the history of national celebrations. Interestingly, the students’ data (Questioning History: Do I like the Queen now?) indicate that the students given the opportunity of exposure to controversial historical truths might unmask the hegemonic ideologies of the hidden curriculum and conclude that there might be more than one history: *‘our history’-‘their history’* (Maria, line 10, field notes 11/02/12). This might be interpreted as an unmasking of ideology that could possibly transform the passive student-audience to an active student- audience. This concept is in line with the British Cultural Studies that ‘sought to locate “counterhegemonic” forces of resistance and contestation’ and ‘aimed at a political goal of social transformation in which location of forces of domination and resistance would aid the process of political transformation’ (Kellner & Durham, 2006: xxiv).

There are additional teacher accounts that emphasise the students' resistance to the historical hegemonic ideologies. Mrs. Melanie comments, *'when I teach the history of the 1st of April there are students who get confused and they say "the Turks are our enemies not the British". Who are the good and who are the bad in the story? They live in England and their father or mother might also be British. Who is the bad in that case?'* Mrs. Fane narrates another incident with the occasion of the same celebration, *'when I teach the history of EOKA and the students learn about the role of England they say, "I didn't know about all these and I don't want to be British any more". They also said that "I hate the Queen" when I told them the story of Evagoras'.*

In the above accounts the teachers emphasise the impact of contested historical ideologies on the students' self-positions. In Mrs. Fane account, the issue of the Queen re-emerges with the occasion of the narrative of the same incident (Evagoras' story). The additional element in that extract is the reported denial of the British identity. Can the historical contested ideologies have such an impact on the students' reported self-positions? The data from students who participated in the current study do not provide similar evidence. Therefore, Mrs. Fane's report may be interpreted as a situational, context-bound self-description that derived its strength from the emotional character of the historical narrative. As explained earlier in the analysis, the naturalistic representation of historical figures through national theatre plays encourages empathy and identification with the hero. Respectively, it might encourage identification with the respective ethnic community. This latter identification might be manifested with denial of the students' dual ethnicity: *'I don't want to be British any more'*, but this denial should not be treated as a permanent self-position.

In the aforementioned Mrs. Melanie's extract (teacher), two conflicts are reported: the former deals with the stereotyped enemy (Turks) and the latter with the students' dual ethnic background (British-Greek). As the latter has been extensively addressed earlier, I will focus on the former that raises issues of nationalism that may be identified with racism and/or chauvinism.

Stereotype refers to an image perpetuated without change and derives from the Greek words *στερεός* and *τύπος*, hence a firm/solid impression. In ethnic terms it is an essentialist approach to race and ethnicity and as Werbner (1997: 228) argues,

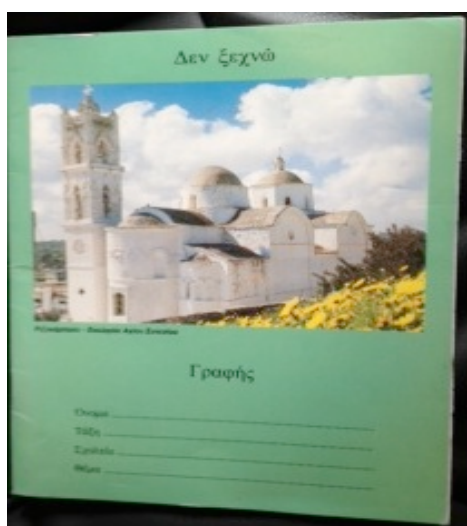
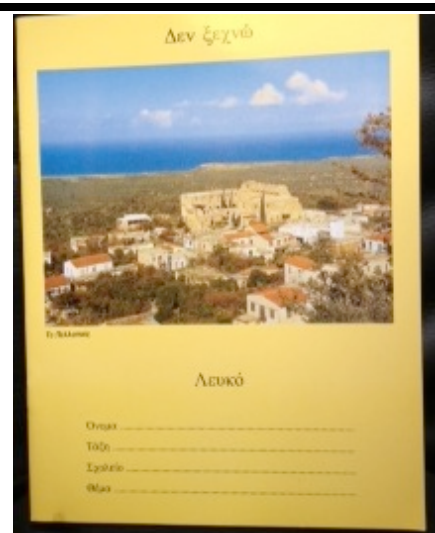
‘to essentialise is to impute a fundamental, basic, absolutely necessary constitutive quality to a person, social category, ethnic group, religious community or a nation. It is to posit falsely a timeless continuity... It is to imply an internal sameness and external difference or otherness’.

Thus, stereotypes may be described as a set of predispositions that aim at categorising an ethnic group as the Other or using the students’ phrasing as the ‘enemy’.

This reported stereotyped impression of the Turk as the enemy is rooted both in the Cypriot and the Greek history. As explained elsewhere, in 1453 the fall of Byzantine Empire resulted in what is often described as the ‘400 years of Greek slavery under the Ottoman rule’ (Theodosopoulos, 2007). Later, in 1922 the Greco-Turkish war in Smyrna ended with a great Greek and Armenian massacre, forced migration and evacuation (Biondich, 2011; Naimark, 2002). Lastly, in 1974 Turkish troops invaded and occupied the Northern part of Cyprus. This accumulated Greek-Turkish history of conflicts has often resulted in the formation of ethnic stereotypes that treat the Turks as the eternal enemy of the Hellenic ethnos. In this view, the reported students’ confusion does not only raise issues about the effective teaching of history. It also raises concerns about the impact that the teaching of history has on creating stereotypes. However, the students’ essentialised impressions should not only be attributed to the school but also to the family.

In the parental accounts, there are reports that signify this stereotyped impression about the Turks. For instance, Ellie’s father comments, ‘[when my children participate in national celebrations] *they learn there is a history to our race and there is a reason why we are here. For example 1974, I want them to*

know about 1974 because the reason I am here is 1974. They need to know everything about the Turks, they should not forget'. Despite the fact that there is no school celebration that commemorates the events of 1974, Ellie's father in his account focuses on the Turkish invasion memories. His family history and migration dictates that the children '*need to know*' and '*should not forget*'. The latter comment is strongly associated with the motto that signifies the Turkish invasion. Evident of the strength of this representation is the fact that the students' accounts included many repetitions of '*remember*' and '*don't forget*'. This may be attributed to a variety of symbolic representations that have been employed so as to impose the motto. For instance, all community-school writing books have 'Δεν ξεχνώ' [I don't forget] on top of a picture that represents a town, monument or place from the Northern occupied part of Cyprus (see following images).



Community-School writing books with the motto 'I don't forget'

Therefore, both the state institutions and the family reinforce the rhetoric that the Cypriots should not forget the history of 1974 and respectively should not forget the attributes of the enemy. The constant symbolic representation of this event (with all means of symbolic representation) functions as the repetition that establishes the invented tradition ideologies (Hobsbawm, 1983). The effectiveness of ideologies also rests on the process of naturalisation, thus on unquestionable characteristics.

Evident of this naturalisation is the following extract from Iasona's father: '*the national celebrations might be nationalistic but I don't think this is bad. Listen, we have our national problem, which is something that it is in everybody's mind. We are all concerned about that. If we view that as a right wing nationalistic problem, then yes there are political ideologies [within the school and the celebrations]. We are passionate about the freedom of our country and you could view that as a political ideology, a nationalistic ideology. It is our national problem and if we call that nationalistic or right wing yes, then maybe there is. But we need to, we have to have it*'.

Necessity might be the mother of invention but in the above extract is reported as the mother of 'invented traditions' (Hobsbawm, 1983) that accept as natural, hence unquestionable, the nationalistic and political ideologies of community education. In the above account (Iasona's father) the occupation of Northern Cyprus is reported as a '*national problem*' that demands the presence of nationalistic and right wing ideologies within the educational institutions. In this view, Mrs. Melanie's (teacher) earlier report on the student's perception of the '*Turk is the enemy*' may be interpreted as an imposed ideology that is legitimised by the school, the family and respectively the State. It is an ideology supported within both the public and the private sphere so as to ensure its maintenance and effectiveness. As Habermas (1989: 136) notes, 'By *the public sphere* we mean first of all a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed'. It is a sphere that mediates between society and the state; they do not overlap, but if empowered they might confront one another as opponents³⁷. In the above case, there is evidence that both the State and the Society -even diasporic society- have reproduced and maintained an ideological stereotype of the 'enemy' that serves the interests of the nation's sovereignty.

³⁷ Within the recent history (March 2013) of the Cypriot bailout and the haircut on the depositors in the Bank of Cyprus we witnessed this confrontation between the State and the Society. As reported in Global Times, 'Ordinary Cypriots step in the streets to protest against the massive "haircuts" imposed by the Troika (The European Union, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund) in the capital Nicosia, March 26, 2013' (<http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/771029.shtml#UVgwmo6bK7Q>, accessed 31/03/2013).

Given that the stereotype of the Turk as enemy emerges both in the students' and the parents' accounts, then the endorsement of the stereotype might be viewed as an index or marker of identity and belonging. McGarty, Izerbyt & Spears (2002: 2) identify three principles on the social psychology of stereotyping: stereotypes are aids to explanation; are energy-saving devices; are shared group beliefs. The latter principle 'implies that stereotypes should be formed in line with the accepted views or norms of social groups that the perceiver belongs to' (ibid). In this view, the shared stereotype of the Turk as enemy denotes acceptance of the views of the Greek or Greek-Cypriot community and hence membership to the ethnic community. Therefore, when the students report on 'Turks as enemies', their report could be treated as another manifestation of Greek ethnic identity positions.

2. National Celebrations: History, Identity and Ideology

The strong link between national celebrations, history and identity emerged strongly in all participants' accounts. As the family's accounts indicate, they expect the students to embrace the historical and ideological content of the national celebrations. Their reports focus on the national celebrations as a factor that could foster the students' sense of belonging to the Greek community. Thus, there is a repeated pattern within the family accounts that associates the role of national celebrations with history and identity. The reports from the family members are in line with the teachers' earlier reports, e.g. '*affect aspects of their identity. It gives them a sense of belonging*' (Mrs. Fane).

More explicitly on the familial accounts, Constantina's mother reports, '*it is really important. It is a lesson for our children. The children get involved in a lot of different ways, singing and dancing and the plays. It helps the children understand where they came from and going back into their history. It is nice that they learn about the motherland's history, they learn that they belong in that history*'. Similar comments are made by Maria's grandmother, '*if we don't do the celebrations we are all going to forget who we are. We are going to forget our history, where do we come from...Our children learn the British history in the English school but they should also know their own history, otherwise they will forget their roots...The*

children not only learn their history but also learn to be proud of their history, proud to be Greek.

In the above accounts, there is a reported emphasis on history as 'root' and 'route' (*going back into their history*). Clifford (1997: 3) argues that 'roots always precede routes' and that 'thinking historically is a process of locating oneself in space and time' (ibid: 11). That location/positioning could also be regarded as membership to that shared space/time. In this sense, the route provides a continuum for the community members. As one of the teachers stresses, '*we all have the need to go back to our roots. These occasions give the opportunity to children, parents and grandparents to speak about our history, to share their own history. It is as if baptising them to a historical journey that make the children members of this ethnic community*' (Mr. Kostas). Therefore, there is a repeated pattern on the historical context of the national celebrations as 'root and route'; as a *journey* that *baptises*, thus transforms or welcomes, the new generation to the Hellenic ethnic historical community.

Another element that emerges from the aforementioned accounts is a strong coherence between the educators', the parents' and grandparents' reported perceptions. Thus, the reported interrelation between celebrations-history-belonging may be described as a common intergenerational report that is embraced by all the participants, irrespective of their specific attributes (age, role, migrant generation, etc.). Interestingly, the students' reported perceptions, both in the interview and the survey, indicate that the children also endorse or reproduce the school's and family's ideologies.

In question number 8 of the survey, 9/20 (45%) students responded that when they do theatre plays at the Greek school, they 'feel proud to be Greek'. Two students ranked this as the first choice, five as a second and two as a third choice. What is more interesting is that 5/20 (25%) students linked their participation to their family and 3/20 (15%) to their school: 'when I do plays at Greek school, I make my family proud'; 'I make my school proud'. Thus, there is a reported association between feeling proud to be Greek and make the family/school

proud. It is important that this 'pride' is negotiated through the students' participation in Greek national plays. This is also supported through Question 13 where 6/20 (30%) students strongly agreed, 9/20 (45%) agreed and 5/20 (25%) students were neutral to the report 'I feel more proud when I do Greek theatre plays'. This reported pride might be the product of a mutual informative relation between the school, the family and the students.

This could mean that the family/school expect the students to feel Greek when participating in Greek plays, so the students report that they feel proud to be Greek. Alternatively, the students might want to make their family/school proud, so they participate in a shared event that fosters shared belonging. Lastly, the school, the family and the students mutually inform one another when they affirm and/or re-affirm self-positions by employing a range of symbolic representations and shared rituals, such as the national celebrations. Thus, the organisation/participation of national celebrations can be described as a transformative ritual where the participants affirm/inform in a dialogical, interactive way each other's ethnic self-positions. As explained earlier (Questioning History: Do I like the Queen now?), self-positions are relations between the *Self* and the *Other* (Hall, 1991; Hermans, 2002); 'Self and Other do not exclude one another (self versus other)' (Hermans, 2001: 245).

Williams (1961: 61) argues,

'if we study real relations, in any actual analysis, we reach the point where we see that we are studying a general organisation in a particular example, and in this general organisation there is no element that we can abstract or separate from the rest'.

Similarly, in the current study the community school, as an organisation/institution, is comprised of the educators, the family members and the students. Their reported perceptions indicate that we cannot separate them or abstract them without reference to each other. There might not be profound evidence of which one transforms or affects the other most effectively, but there is clear evidence that one informs the other in a mutual way. In this view, the

schools' celebrations and ideologies; the family's expectations and ideologies; and, the students' reported self-positions while participating in and negotiating the ideological content of the celebrations are interwoven and mutually transformative. This transformative power is an embedded element of art that can be found in drama. 'We can see drama, not only as a social art, but as a major and practical index of change and creator of consciousness' (Williams, 1961: 299).

Williams (1961) postulates that the art is a 'learned human skill' (54), which grows within a human community that shares 'common meanings and common means of communication' (ibid). Within the community school, there is an actual present diasporic community that shares this meaning and means. However, two additional imagined human communities are present that we can often witness in symbolic and/or literal form: the Greek and the Greek-Cypriot. The common meanings and common means of communication that are employed within the national celebration theatre plays -such as language, ethnic symbols (flags), ethnic narrative and rhetoric- serve at denoting membership to these imagined communities. At the same time, the physical presence of Greek and Greek-Cypriot political and ecclesiastical representatives at the school's national celebrations recognises, validates and legitimises this membership.

The head-teacher commented on that presence: *'when we organise an ethnic national celebration we honour our heroes and we need to do it with respect. These celebrations have a pedagogic character. The presence of the Greek and Greek-Cypriot State or the presence of the Church validate this pedagogic character and bestow solemnity to the ceremonies. It helps the parents and the students to understand the significance of these celebrations'*. In this view, the motherlands' State and Church authorities bestow an official character to the celebrations that is manifested through their physical presence at the school and the speeches that they address to the members of the community school. Through this process the diasporic community is recognised as part of the greater Hellenic ethnic community. Moreover, their presence recognises and legitimises the ritual and the ideological content of the national celebrations.

Interestingly, this is another approach to sustain hegemony even to members of the imagined community who do not share the same geographical space.

Hebdige (in Durham and Kellner (eds) 2006: 150), drawing on Hall's (1997) and Gramsci's work on hegemony, argues,

'Hegemony can only be maintained so long as the dominant classes "succeed in framing all competing definitions within their range", so that subordinate groups are, if not controlled; then at least contained within an ideological space which does not seem at all "ideological": which appears instead to be permanent and "natural", to lie outside history, to be beyond particular interests'.

In the case of the community school, history is employed as the embarking point to sustain hegemony and ideology. Moreover, the natural presentation of the historic theatre plays sustains the unquestionable character of the respective ideologies.

This hegemonic framework of legitimisation is also supported by some reports. Mrs. Elena (teacher) stressed that the presence of the authorities serves the diasporic community's needs for membership and continuity. *'We need them to know that we maintain our ethos; we might be away but we share the same background, we do the same things, the same celebrations'*. In her account, there is an evident need for recognition. The presence of the Church and State, who are endowed with power, have the ability to provide recognition while at the same time they reproduce their own power.

However, there are educators who question this power and the official character of the national celebrations. They attribute the school's policy to financial/economic aspects of community education and stress that more emphasis should be laid on the students' learning needs. One of the teachers, Mrs. Fane comments, *'when we have visitors from Greece and Cyprus, they come and they make it [the national celebration] official. They establish our ethnic*

identity because they recognise that we are Greeks and Cypriots as well. When they recognise the community school's celebrations as official they create links with motherland. However, I believe that above all that official character, the politicians, the priests etc., serve the school's status. It appears as a high class school, so it is going to attract more students and the school's income will grow...if we focus more on history and learning, I think that the students will benefit more'.

Mrs. Fane's account brings forward the school's status, which is related to issues of 'economic and symbolic capital' (Bourdieu, 1991: 14). She recognises the community's needs for ethnic recognition and legitimisation of the celebrations, but she also reports on the socio-economic aspect of education. Mrs. Fane argues that the national celebrations function as forms of power reproduction. I could possibly describe it as a power cycle where those endowed with power-politicians and Church representatives- through their presence can also bestow power to the school. This power can be identified with the form of symbolic capital. The school respectively can convert this symbolic capital into economic capital by attracting more students. As Bourdieu (1991: 140) has stressed, 'one of the most important properties of fields is the way in which they allow one form of capital to be converted into another'.

What emerges from the participants' reported accounts is that the school is successful in the conversion of capital, as it appears to attract a great number of students whose social class is described as 'medium-upper'. The majority of the adult-participants -Mrs. Anna, Mrs. Fane, Mrs. Melanie (teachers) Mrs. Chrisa, Mr. Nikos and Mr. Ioannis (parents)- described the school's social-class as '*medium-upper*' and stressed that this has an impact on several aspects of community education. Mr. Ioannis (Iasona's father) associated the parents' socio-economic status with the school's economic status: '*It definitely has an influence, because the school can collect more funds from the parents so as to do all the events and everything*'. On the contrary, Constantina's mother, stressed that it is the school's status that attracts parents who have a high socio-economic status, '*There are many children in this school who go to private schools and their parents are more wealthy, so I can suppose they can support the Greek school financially. I think*

there is a high expectation from parents to achieve high grades. Because they are all going to good English schools, they have the same expectations from the Greek school, so they choose a good Greek school'.

In view of these parental accounts, I would stress that the community school may be described as a market- to borrow Bourdieu's terminology- where there is a mutual exchange of capital. Both the school and the parents exchange all forms of capital -cultural, economic and symbolic- and respectively convert them into other forms of capital. More explicitly, the presence of the politician and ecclesiastic power bestows a symbolic capital to the school. The school converts this into economic capital by attracting more students who have a privileged background. The parents who attend this school are endowed with a cultural capital through the lessons and a symbolic capital through successful GCSE and A Level exams. Moreover, these certificates might be converted into economic capital if employed for access to higher institutions and the respective professional opportunities. In turn, the successful examination results bestow a further symbolic capital to the school by presenting it as a successful school. This attracts more students, thus school funds (economic capital). In this view, the community school is a field that not only produces but also facilitates recognition and reproduction of power and wealth (Fraser, 2003 see also Chapter 3 §4).

Issues of power and class have also been analysed in the previous chapter of language, dialect and ethnic identity. Interestingly, the aspect of language re-emerged in reference the role and impact of national celebrations. Despite the fact that the educators do not support a strong association between language, national celebrations and identity, the family members' and the students' accounts report on a strong link.

3. National Celebration Performances, Heritage Language and Identity

As regards the educators' reported perspectives on the language that is employed in the national celebrations, Mr. Kostas (teacher) argues, *'the students are exposed to a new vocabulary and they have the ability to practise it through rehearsals. Of course they gain a lot about the Greek language and culture while*

participating and learning about the national celebrations. However, this is not systematic. If there was a more structured approach; or if we had more efficient resources the students would have been able to improve their linguistic competence further'. Similarly, Mrs. Fane (teacher) comments, 'the students enrich their vocabulary with words such as πόλεμος (war), όπλα (guns/arms), Έλληνες (Greeks), Τούρκοι (Turks), etc. But I think that the main contribution of these celebrations is on culture and identity, as the students learn a few words that they link to historical figures or historical events'.

In view of these accounts, the teacher-participants argue that there is a link between language, culture, history and identity. However, they express some concerns about the degree of impact on heritage language development. Mr. Kostas attributes this limited impact on the lack of a 'systematic/structured' approach and on the lack of effective resources. While discussing the role of community education, both elements (approach and resources), have also emerged as impeding factors of heritage language development/maintenance. Under that section, the educators reported that Greek heritage language maintenance is not always strongly supported by community education. The educators have attributed this limited support to not compatible resources ('*The books do not meet the students' needs*'-Mrs. Anna) and/or to lack of a systematic approach ('*The teachers don't always know the effective way to teach Greek as a second language*' -Mrs. Melanie). Despite these reported difficulties on heritage language teaching, all the participants reported on a strong association between language and identity in a variety of ways.

As regards the educators' reported perceptions on language and national celebrations, they stress that the students learn a context-bound vocabulary that functions as a symbolic representation of '*culture and history*'. It is this symbolic function of language that might have an impact on the students' identity. Thus, the symbolic power of language is repeatedly reported as an element that informs the students' self-positions. The symbolic function of language and the concept of 'language as culture' have been extensively addressed in the previous chapter of the analysis on 'Language and Identity'. For this reason, I will not

expand on this further. Instead, I will turn the focus on the family's and students' accounts, so as to gain a further insight into the community members' perceptions on this theme.

Ellie's father comments, *'these celebrations are important for the language, the culture and the heritage. They help the children understand why they are here today. They learn new words, they practise the language and language is part of their Greek identity'*. On the same issue Maria's grandmother argues, *'the plays help the children with the language because they practise a lot, they memorise their lines and they perform on stage. This is a valuable experience for the children because they have the chance to speak Greek in front of an audience'*.

Two elements emerge from the above accounts: The first is the repeated pattern between celebrations, language and identity that is explicitly expressed by Ellie's father. The second is the emphasis on the practice/performance of the heritage language with the occasion of the national theatre plays. This latter issue has also emerged during the pilot study in the head-teacher's and Mrs. Elena's (teacher) accounts (Role of National Celebrations). According to the participants, the living experience of drama and the theatre performances encourage the children to explore new dimensions of the target language.

As Kao & O'Neil (1998: 1) stress,

'the usefulness of every kind of drama in second language teaching lies in the fact that it promotes contexts for multiple language encounters and encourages authentic dialogue between teachers and students. As a result, the usual classroom interactions are profoundly and productively altered'.

What might be more interesting in the case of heritage language and community education is that these national theatre performances also encourage a dialogue between the students and the community members in a variety of ways. Firstly, the performance itself is a dialogical process between the performers-students and the audience. Secondly, the participants' accounts reveal a strong family engagement while the students prepare the performances. As Ellie stressed, *'I*

feel more Greek when I do the plays. Because you are performing on stage and to the rest of the Greek school and you feel more proud and more confident to use the language...I discussed the play with my family. They helped me learn my lines and learn more about Greek history... I learned some new words and phrases through my lines and sometimes through my friends' lines, you know during the rehearsals'.

In Ellie's account, there is evidence of a triple dialogical interaction that facilitates heritage language use through the national theatre plays. The former is a dialogical process with the audience. This is the actual theatre performance and according to the student's account it fosters confidence and pride to employ the heritage language. The second dialogical process that supports the heritage language and the exploration of history is within the family lieu and the significant others. Lastly, there is a reported heritage language learning process in the classroom interactions. Ellie reports that she enriched her vocabulary in the target language not only by learning her lines but also by listening to the lines of her classmates.

These three dialogical processes may also be identified with a notion of performance that envelops both the theatrical and the social usage of the term. Carlson (1996: 4) argues that 'all activity carried out with a consciousness of itself could potentially be considered as *performance*'. As Schechner (2002) explains, 'To perform can also be understood in relation to: being, doing, showing doing, explaining showing doing'. In this view, in Ellie's account there is evidence of a variety of performances:

- being: a student, a daughter, a classmate, a performer on stage, a member of the community;
- doing: a performance, a rehearsal, learning her lines at home;
- showing doing: during the performance and the rehearsal; repeating her lines;
- and,
- explaining showing doing: discussing the historical context of the play with the family members and classmates.

These different performances are interesting for two reasons: because they are intertwined and because real-life self-positions/performances merge with the fictitious character performance. It is as if the performance/exploration of the fictitious character of the national play stimulates exploration of real-life self-positions. The exploration of the heritage language per se and the symbolic representations of the heritage language (historical context and the respective ideologies) entail a transformative process that has an impact on the target language and on the students' self-positions. As Boal (2006: 62) argues, 'for this reason we must all do theatre, to discover who we are and find out who we could become'.

However, these performances have also an impact on the audience, observers and/or co-participants. As Goffman (1959: 15-16) defines performance, 'it is all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants'. In this view, all these dialogical processes/performances, whether on stage, at home or in the classroom, share a common characteristic: the mutual learning transformative process permeated by emotions for both the creator and the recipient. As Dewey (1934: 43) stresses, 'emotions are qualities, when they are significant, of a complex experience that moves and changes'.

During the performance of national celebrations, emotional engagement has its roots either on past-living experiences, e.g. grandparents who have experienced the EOKA armed resistance; or new experiences that aim at fostering belonging to a collective past. According to Maria's grandmother, *'you can't describe in words how I feel when I see them speak Greek on stage. I am proud to be their grandmother. It is an honour for our family that our children enact great Greek heroes. There are times that I cry because I can still remember what we've been through'*. In her account there is an evident emotional engagement that is rooted in past experiences re-lived through the students' performance. In a similar way, Iasonas' father, who is much younger in age reports, *'I feel very proud. I felt that he made time to learn the words, he made the effort, he felt the role, he was passionate about it, he understood why he was saying those words, where the*

*connection was and I think that it really helped him with the language..
[participating as an audience] it is great, it reinforces our Greekness, it brings back memories'.*

In both accounts there is a reported emotional engagement related to the heritage language that the students employ on stage and to the historical content of these rituals. Moreover, there is an apparent reaffirmation of identity (*it reinforces our Greekness*) as the performances foster the notion of collective memory. In this view these performances evoke feelings of pride for both the audience and the performers. This pride is related to issues of identity as manifested through a shared language, a shared culture and a shared history.

Another element that emerged in Ellie's account was the learning experience/interaction within the family and the classroom. Both Dewey (1897) and Vygotsky (1978) have highlighted the impact of the social environment on the educational process. Dewey (1897: 77) characterises the social participation of the individual as 'unconscious education' where 'the individual gradually comes to share in the intellectual and moral resources which humanity has succeeded in getting together'. As if the child inherits 'the funded capital of civilisation' (ibid). In this view, the family's approach to the students' theatre plays may also be described as a mutual learning intergenerational experience.

As Constantina's mother reports, '*When she was learning her part it brought us back to what it was about and we discussed and questioned as a family 'what happened', 'what is the play about', 'who is Evagoras', it was like bringing all back to us. And even our older daughter took part in it and she was telling us about it because she knows more things than us. It was basically like a history lesson for the whole family*'.

In her account it is evident that the theatre play functioned as a learning experience for all the members of the family. All the members contributed their knowledge so as to generate new levels of knowledge. This process may be

identified with Vygotsky's notion of scaffolding that operates within the zone of proximal development.

The zone of proximal development (often referred as ZPD) is

'the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with a more capable peer' (1978: 86).

In the case reported by Constantina's mother there was intergenerational scaffolding as both adults and the two children supported each other's level of potential development. Another student, Iasonas, reports analogous scaffolding practices: *'When we were learning the lines with my father we were discussing the play and my dad was telling me a few things I didn't know. I did tell him what I learned'*. In a similar way, in Ellie's report there was evidence of scaffolding both within the family and the classroom, what is often described as peer assisted learning. What distinguishes the aforementioned reports is that in Constantina's and Iasonas' cases the learning focuses mainly on the historical context of the theatre play. On the contrary, Ellie's account associates the learning/rehearsing process of the play with history and language learning experiences.

There are additional student reports, which support that participation in the national celebration performances facilitated heritage language use and competence. Moreover, there are implicit and explicit references that link heritage language use/competence with the students' self-reported identity positions. For instance, Iasonas reported, *'we learnt a few words but it was more about history than language...[my participation] made me more confident with the language, less shy to go out on stage and talk to people, especially in Greek. I think that will also help me in the future. It made me just stronger mentally'*. On the same issue Maria stressed, *'I learned new words, and I learned different parts of the play and I kind of understood it more...It felt good, because you kind of felt that you were making a family group project because you were re-enacting the Greek*

history and you kind of learned everything that happened. I felt proud to be part of this history and re-enact it'.

Both students, Iasonas and Maria, emphasise that their participation in the play facilitated the learning of new vocabulary. However, what emerges strongly is that it is not the language learning process per se that evoked pride and confidence. Instead, it is the use of the heritage language in real life conditions that can foster pride, confidence and membership to the respective community. In this view, the living through conditions of drama, along with the shared symbolic practices (language and history), informs the students' ethnic self-positions in a positive way (*confident, proud, stronger mentally*). The head-teacher and some teacher-participants (see also §1) have emphasised aspect of drama as a learning medium. In their accounts they have acknowledged that '*drama has the power to motivate the students to use the language*' (Mrs. Anna-teacher) and '*feel more confident to speak Greek*' (Mrs. Fane-teacher).

Lastly, the student survey data also indicate a link between language, identity and participation in the school's national theatre performances. In Question 12, 15/20 (75%) students reported that 'I speak more Greek when, I do theatre plays in the Greek school'. 14 students ranked this as the second choice, while the other prevailing answer was 'when I am with my grandparents³⁸' (20/20). Additional data from Question 8 indicate that 10/20 (50%) students report that 'When I do plays at Greek school, I speak Greek more fluently'. This was ranked as the first choice by 4 students (20%), as the second choice by 3 students (15%) and as the third by 3 students (15%). Given the strong reported association between language and identity- (Question 6) 'I feel more Greek, when I speak Greek' (18/20- 90%)- there is evidence that participation in the theatre plays facilitates Greek language use. This respectively facilitates the students' self-ascribed belonging to the Greek ethnic community as language is reported as element of ethnic identity.

³⁸ See also the relevant analysis: Language Choices, Language Practices and Intergenerational Support

In summary, the national celebration theatre performances are reported as 'efficacious/entertainment' (Schechner, 2002) rituals that encompass a learning process (language, history, culture); a mutual transformative process that marks the participants' self-positions; a historical commemoration that fosters the community's collective memory and belonging; a healing ritual that treats the struggles over recognition of the past; and, a teaching naturalised experience that has embedded hegemonic ideologies. The students and the other members of the community negotiate aspects of their Greek ethnic identity while participating in these ritual national performances. It is mainly through the language and the history that they aim at creating a collective identity. This shared membership is often affirmed or re-affirmed with the occasion of national celebrations. Despite its natural and unquestionable hegemonic character, the younger generation of students often challenge the role of national celebrations and the respective embedded historical ideologies.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

1. Reflection on the Research Questions

I approached this study with the aim to explore how the members of a community school in London negotiate ethno-cultural self-positions while engaged in national celebration theatre performances. This exploration unfolded under three main research questions that I will revisit under this concluding section.

- How do teachers, parents and students perceive the role of the Greek community school in reference to ethno-cultural identity?

The participants' accounts report on a multidimensional role for the community school. It is identified as a 'safe place' where the members of the community affirm and re-affirm their sense of belonging to the Greek community. This safe place though, is not devoid of political tensions and the respective power relations that permeate an educational institution.

More explicitly, the role of the community school was associated with heritage language learning, culture and ethos maintenance, religiosity and historical consciousness. Two interesting elements emerge in reference to these parameters: the former deals with the institutional character of community education and the latter with issues of identity. As regards the institutional aspect, the reported perceptions are aligned with the aims of community education abroad as articulated by the Greek Ministry of Education (Law 2413/1996, Chapter 1 §1). This means that there is evidence of reproduction of the State's ideologies and therefore these ideologies may be treated as hegemonic.

As regards the relation of these parameters to identity, interestingly the participants' reports related all the aforementioned issues with the sense of

ethno-cultural identity and often reported on language, culture and religion as markers of ethnic identity. Religion was reported as an embedded element of Greek ethnic identity, e.g. Greek Orthodox community, and this was attributed to the lack of clear boundaries between Greek State and Greek Orthodox Church. Moreover, the use of religious rituals within the community school presented the school as a faith-related setting where members of the community affirm/re-affirm their affiliation to Greek Orthodox religion.

On the issue of heritage language and dialect the data unveiled a complex issue of power and symbolic power related to language as capital; colonialism and post-colonialism; and, representations of ethnic and political identity. On the issue of language as capital, Bourdieu (1991: 18) asserts that 'the distribution of linguistic capital is related to other forms of capital (economic capital, cultural capital, etc.) which define the location of an individual within the social space'. The participants' reports identified the role of the community school with attainment of language certificates (GCSE and A Level). These certificates could function as cultural capital that according to the students' accounts can permit access to higher institutions (symbolic capital) and a future prosperous job (economic capital). The issue of language as capital also emerged in reference to the dichotomy between the two linguistic varieties: Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and Greek Cypriot Dialect (GCD).

The dialect was identified as the linguistic variety of those endowed with a low socio-economic status. On the contrary, the participants' reports highlighted the role of the community school in teaching and transmitting the high prestigious variety (SMG) that was reported as '*the right Greek language*'. The issue of the dialect could also be interpreted as another institutional practice where the low-class linguistic variety is devalued while the standard variety is valued, hegemonised and legitimised through the educational mechanisms.

Another form of linguistic hegemony emerged in reference to the dominant and the heritage language. English was reported as the home language despite the parents' reported wishes to maintain the heritage language. This is also reported

in Cyprus where English, as a high prestigious variety, is related to the upper-medium socioeconomic status (Goutsos, 2001). Therefore, there is a reported three-way code switching between Standard Modern Greek, Cypriot-Greek dialect and English by both Greek-Cypriots in mainland and diaspora. The prestige of the English language was related to issues of colonial and neo-colonial power. As stressed in Chapter 6 (§1), 'part of imperialism's project has been to impose the English language on colonised subjects in an endeavor to control them more completely' (Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996: 164). In this view, another role of the community school is to provide a platform for a linguistic struggle over the dominant and former coloniser's language.

The issue of the heritage language was also related to political and ethnic identity self-positions. Drawing on previous research and theory (Ioannou, 1991; Karoulla- Vrikkis, 1991; Panayiotou, 1996; Papadakis, 1999 and Papapavlou & Pavlou, 1998 et al.) that suggest a close link between Greek-Cypriot ethnic and political identity positions, it emerged that the emphasis on a pure Hellenic standard linguistic variety could also be interpreted in a similar way. Thus, the participants' reported perceptions on the value of Standard Modern Greek as the only legitimate linguistic variety could be a representation of what Peristianis (2006:102) recognises as 'ethnic nationalism or hellenocentrism' and the respective right-wing political ideologies. In this view, the role of the community school is a lieu where political ideologies reside and often are produced/reproduced as hegemonic.

Lastly, the participants reported on the role of the community school in reference to culture and identity. Culture was not treated as an isolated theme but as a fluid, dynamic factor related to language, history and religion. What seems to be important is that the participants' reports emphasised the role of the community school in baptising the new generation in the Greek culture through all different means. Therefore, culture was treated as a marker of ethnic identity that defines the similarities, which facilitate identification with the respective ethnic community. In a similar sense, the national celebrations were reported as rituals/occasions that manifest this collective culture and engage the new

generation in performing this new identity within the public sphere of the diasporic community.

- What is the place and role of national celebrations within the context of the Greek community school?

An interesting element that emerged in reference to the national celebrations is that these celebrations may be identified with rituals (Schechner, 2002) and invented selective traditions (Williams, 1980; Hobsbawm, 1983). The element of ritual emerged as a repetitive process that entails both transformation and transportation. Transportation is identified with liminoid rituals that effect a temporary change. During the national celebrations performances the students experience transportation while performing a role, as if leaving themselves temporarily. 'They are not themselves, nor are they the characters they impersonate' (Schechner, 2002: 64). For the spectators there is also a process of transportation while entering into this experience. But there is also a process of transformation that might be more permanent and might happen through a series of transportations. As Schechner maintains 'a series of transportation performances achieve a transformation' (cited in Nicholson, 2005: 12). Moreover, these ritualistic performances may be identified with what Myerhoff (1979) characterised as 'definitional ceremonies', 'a kind of collective autobiography, a means by which a group creates its identity by telling itself a story about itself' (Turner, 1986: 40).

This element of story emerged strongly in the participants' reports as the national celebrations were often identified as a history lesson. The element of history was respectively related to culture, ethnic consciousness and ethnic identity. In this view, the participants identified the role of national celebrations as an occasion that fosters the collective identity through sharing a common history that denotes a continuum between the mainland and the diasporic communities.

This continuum was manifested and at the same time legitimised by the presence of the Greek/Greek-Cypriot political and Church representatives. Their

presence bestowed a ceremonial status to the community school's national celebration performances; to the school; and, also recognised or 'interpellated' (Althusser, 1971) the community's ethnic identity as 'one of us'. Their presence was also related with the conversion of different forms of capital. More explicitly, the church and political representatives bestow a symbolic capital to the school when attending these ceremonial rituals. The school respectively converts this symbolic capital into economic capital by attracting more students, thus more fees. In this view, the school's national celebrations function as a market (in Bourdieu's terms) where different forms of capital could be exchanged.

Lastly, the participants laid a great emphasis on the national celebration performances as living experiences. Using Schechner's perception on the dyad (2002: 71) between efficacy and entertainment, I argue that the role of national celebrations is identified with both aspects. The efficacy aspect lies in the sharing/learning of history. According to the participants this learning is intergenerational and functions in a Vygotskian way, where those endowed with knowledge supplement the historical memory of those who are less historically knowledgeable. As regards the entertaining aspect, the participants focus on the role of theatre as a living, transporting and transformative experience where both performers and audience live or re-live these historical events. It is the nature of drama that has been highlighted as an effective medium that has learning potential while permitting the students to explore aspects of their self-positions and self-confidence. In summary, the role of national celebrations was located on a historical continuum that functions as the cornerstone for the establishment of a collective historical memory, thus a collective ethnic identity that shares a common history.

- How does the community (students and parents) negotiate aspects of Greek ethno-cultural identity while engaged in national celebration theatre performances?

A significant element that emerged in reference to the participants' self-reports on identity is the complexity of the field and that their self-positions are context-bound and dialogical. More explicitly, the parents' reports indicated a relational

sense of identity that entails a variety of ethnic self-positions Greek, Greek-Cypriot, British, and/or British-Cypriot. This relational identity is in line with the two approaches to identity that I adopted in the theoretical framework: the non-essentialist (Hall) and Herman's dialogical self-theory. As the participants' reports indicate the negotiation of ethnic positions is multidimensional and it is articulated and manifested through a dialogical process between the self and the other. Evidence of this is that some participants report differently on their ethnic identity depending on the ethnic attributes of the interlocutor, e.g. Cypriot among the members of the diasporic community and British-Cypriot within the working environment (Chapter 5, Religion and Ethnic Identity). As Jackson (2004: 14-15) argues, 'ethnic identity depends on ascription by both insiders and outsiders; ethnicity is not fixed, but is defined situationally'.

The situational element of ethnic identity also emerged implicitly in the students' accounts. When the students negotiated the historical narrative of the ethnic celebration there was a constant interplay between 'we and they'-'our and their'. These pronouns mostly referred to history and indicated the students' in-between (Bhabha) ethnic self-positions. As if the students negotiate belonging to both communities without necessarily endorsing a permanent ethnic self-ascription.

This was also evident in the use of the heritage and dominant language. Given that the participants' reports indicated language as marker of identity, the element of intrasentential, intersentential and/or situational code switching could also be interpreted as negotiation of belonging to the Greek, Greek-Cypriot or British ethnic community (Chapter 6, §2.a).

Language along with history were also strongly associated with the national celebrations. As regards the heritage language, the dialect and the national celebration theatre performances, the participants' reports indicate that both the symbolic and literal use of the language affirm membership to the Greek ethnic community. The students' theatrical performance in the target language was reported as a process that fosters linguistic competence. This was attributed to

the drama process that gave opportunities for using the heritage language in real life conditions through a dialogical process between the performers and the audience; the performers and the fellow performers; and, the family members. However, there was evidence from the teachers' accounts that this competence is jeopardised by the role-casting criteria. The teachers' approach to cast big roles to students who have good linguistic competence in Greek was interpreted as a practice that creates and sustains linguistic capital inequalities. A practice that 'enables those who benefit most from the system to convince themselves of their own intrinsic worthiness, while preventing those who benefit least from grasping the basis of their own deprivation' (Bourdieu, 1991:25) (Chapter 6, §2.a Language and the Performance). In this view, the performances of national celebrations offer opportunities for the negotiation of ethnic identity through the medium of heritage language, but the school practices favor those who are already endowed with the power of the linguistic capital.

As regards the element of history within the national celebrations, it was reported as an element that encourages remembrance and belonging to a greater ethnic community, thus creates a collective identity. However, the students' accounts revealed that they do not accept unquestionably the ideological historical truths that are reproduced within the two educational institutions (community and mainstream). The national celebration permitted the students to question the role of the Queen of England, the role of the British and the role of the Greek-Cypriots. Moreover, it revealed that history is relational and situational and serves the interests of those who transmit it (*They want us to know only their history... we learn our history only in the Greek school*-Chapter 7, §2.a Questioning History: Do I like the Queen now?). Thus, the students were exposed to a denaturalisation process where they depicted the 'selective tradition' (Williams: 1980) that permeates the national histories. In this view, they realised that there might be more than one history and more than one truth than the self-evident or the hegemonically and institutionally imposed.

In summary, I argue that the national celebration theatre performances function as rituals that permit the negotiation of ethnic identity positions through a

dialogical process between the self and the other and through the mediums of language and history. Though the participants' self-reports as 'feeling more Greek' when participating in these performances might not be bound or exclusive, there is evidence from their reports that when the diasporic community is engaged in these rituals there is an impact on their reported sense of 'Greekness'. In this view, what emerges from this study is that the negotiation of ethno-cultural is a very complex and dynamic process. It is not static, as a variety of different self-positions (political, cultural, linguistic, religious, etc.) mutually inform one the other and result in the manifestation of context-bound and relational ethno-cultural self-expressions. The question that emerges given this reported impact is 'how we might emancipate the national celebration performances from the production/reproduction of hegemonic ideologies and employ them as occasions that promote critical consciousness'?

2. Discussion and Future Possibilities

The theoretical background of this study (Chapter 3) along with the analysis suggests that the national celebration theatre performances entail dimensions of struggle over recognition. This struggle might often have been implicit and not overtly articulated. However, the participants' reported perceptions regarding the historical, political and linguistic representations that are embedded within the national celebrations suggest that the Greek diasporic communities do not accept unquestionably the ideological context of these ethnic manifestations. In a similar way, there is evidence that the Greek metropolitan communities also question the respective ideological representations.

More explicitly, the future role of the national celebration performances is related to three issues: the growth of nationalism caused by the European crisis; the current trend on marginalising the expressive arts from education; and, the use of the ideological narrative of Greek national celebrations as a base that inspires new struggles over recognition and redistribution of power and wealth.

As regards the former, there is evidence of rise of 'right-wing extremism, fascism, neo-fascism or right nationalism' (these terms are often used interchangeably in

the literature) in contemporary Europe that regards with xenophobia the alterity of foreign workers. Given the growth of mobilization within the European borders this accentuated xenophobia raises concerns regarding the European stability of democracy. Žizek (2012: 73) drawing on 'Walter Benjamin's old insight that every rise of Fascism bears witness to a failed revolution argues that the new rise of fascism is the result of the left's failure but simultaneously proof that there was a revolutionary potential'. This rising nationalism whether attributed to the left's failure or the Eurozone crisis, it certainly jeopardises democratic values.

Evidence of this is that in Greece, the extreme-right Golden Dawn movement 'defends Europe in the Spring of 2012' by distributing whistles on the streets of Athens so 'when someone sees a suspicious foreigner, he is invited to blow the whistle' (Žizek, 2012: 14). But the anti-immigrant movement was not the only collateral damage of crisis. Golden Dawn members, priests and religious extremists attacked the Chytirio theatre in Athens when staging the play *Corpus Christi*, arguing that the play is "blasphemous". The most recent events are even more frightening, as on the 18th September 2013 a Greek anti-fascist rapper, Pavlos Fyssas, was stabbed to death by a man claiming to be a member of far-right Golden Dawn party. This murder triggered mass anti-fascist violent protests and resulted in the arrest of Golden Dawn Parliament members. However, on November the 1st 2013, two members of Golden Dawn were shot dead by activists who wanted to take revenge of Fyssas death.

This story of neo-fascism in European Greece indicates that the eurozone crisis that causes misrecognition and maldistribution has collateral damages that affect the democratic values. It is as if Greece relives a civil war and a nationalism regime. With a growing xenophobia and the government's announcement to suspend the state broadcaster ERT in June 2013, the Greek civilians experience what Habermas (2012) has described as the climate of 'post-democratic Europe'. Similar events of rising nationalism, rising xenophobia and fall of democratic values can be traced in all contemporary Europe. Given my initial argument on

the close link between theatre and democracy (Introduction §1), could possibly theatre and theatre in education foster the stabilisation of democratic values?

I argue that the need for a democratic theatre within our education is bigger than ever. However, recent education reformations both in Greece and the U.K. condemn the arts in education in a silent, often invisible role. More explicitly, within the U.K. the proposed reforms marginalise the role of expressive arts in education at a time when we need to ensure that creativity remains an educational priority. Similar measures have resulted in the marginalisation/ban of drama in education from secondary Greek education. These measures suggest an educational policy orientated away from the creative and expressive arts that could support humanistic and democratic values. Moreover, it suggests that the new educational trends will favour those in power by growing the gap between those in privilege of a cultural capital. Will these policies maintain the status quo of the marginalised groups or will they inspire new struggles over recognition and redistribution of power and wealth?

As regards the struggle against the new educational policies in the U.K. a number of petitions urge the educators to take action so as to ensure that creative arts in education will sustain a vital cultural educational role (https://secure.avaaz.org/en/petition/Ensure_Creativity_remains_a_UNESCO_priority/?dTqfFfb; <http://www.nationaldrama.org.uk/nd/index.cfm/news/drama-and-the-national-curriculum-in-england/>, accessed 18/10/13). In Greece, the response to the new reforms did not receive a similar response, as drama in education has always been a marginalised subject. Therefore, within the general Greek crisis and the adjusted austerity measures, the ban of drama from secondary education was perceived almost as natural.

However, there are signs within the Greek society that the imposed educational ideologies may not always be perceived as hegemonic. Similarly, as the participants' reported perceptions suggest the diasporic communities also do not accept unquestionably the hegemonic ideologies. Within this study (Chapter 7), the participants questioned the role of hegemonic power (Role of the Queen);

the role of history [our history-their history (students); how we can teach history effectively (teachers)]; the role of the Cypriot community [*they are hypocrites*]; and, the role of repetition, thus the ritualised character of national celebrations. Therefore, both diasporic and mainland communities embrace the national celebrations but not as self-evident and unquestionable historical truths.

Evidence of this questioning within the mainland community is that every national celebration since October 2011 is employed as an occasion not for celebrating ceremoniously the national ideologies that people were taught and induced to hold. Instead, national celebrations function as occasions for the manifestation of new struggles and resistance. More interestingly, the citizens draw on the ideological basis of each national celebration so as to present the contemporary need for a new resistance.

For instance, on the celebration of OXI, October 2012 Greeks based on the symbolic and selective ideology of saying No to an external enemy, expressed their own resistance against the external political institutions, such as EMF, that are blamed for the inequities of power and wealth that they experience at the moment. In a similar way, the national celebration of 25th March 2012 turned into a public demonstration where the protesters holding pictures of national heroes 'threw leaflets reading *They owe us – We don't – Not a dime to loan sharks – No to German occupation*'

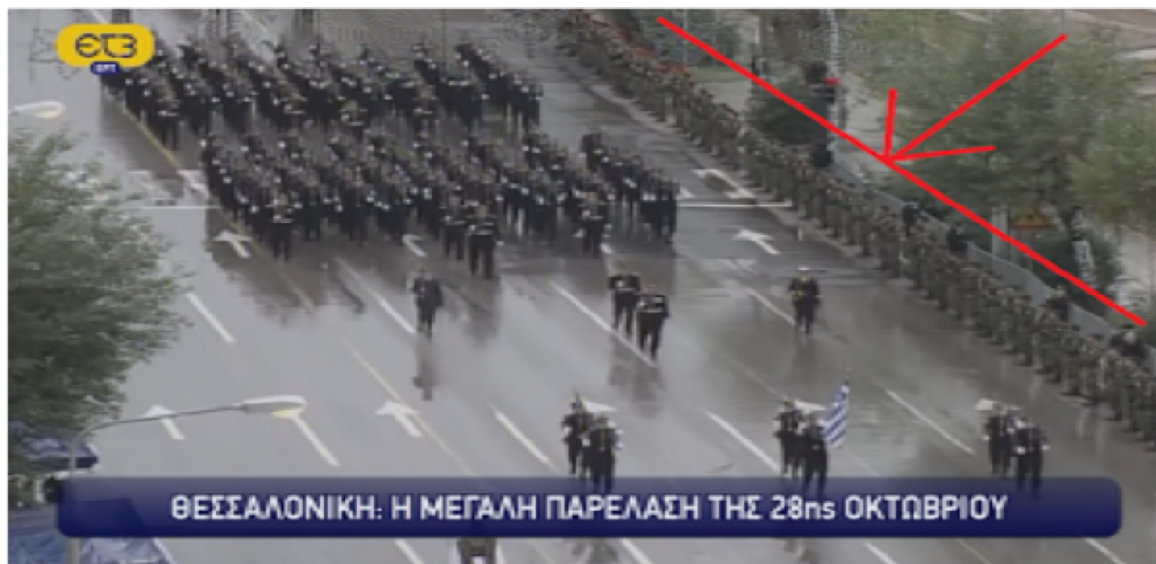
(<http://www.keptalkinggreece.com/2012/03/25/athens-protests-at-the-military-parade-mar-2512/#sthash.gLG2HsrG.dpuf>, accessed 18/10/13).

To avoid similar incidents the national parades are now celebrated with the security of the police's presence and the civilians need special invitation to attend them. As stressed within a Greek blog, 'they were all there: the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister, the whole cabinet, the military and religious leadership of Greece. They were all there, except the Greek citizens' (ibid).

28th October 2011



28th October 2012



What emerges from the above discussion is that there is evidence of a rising nationalism within the Greek milieu. This rise can be threatening for democracy and can be fostered through nationalistic ideologies that are reproduced and legitimised through the educational national celebration theatre performances. Given the close link between theatre and democracy, I would suggest a re-evaluation of the role that theatre can play within education. Marginalising the expressive arts at this crucial moment of crisis can only jeopardise further the development of democratic consciousness. As Habermas (1992: 2) maintains, 'crises in social systems are not produced through accidental changes, but through structurally inherent system-imperatives that are incompatible and cannot be hierarchically integrated'.

To address this social crisis, we need a theatre in education that will emancipate education from the reproduction of hegemonic ideologies. We need an educational theatre that will give agency to the students so to explore and denaturalise the multiple truths that are embedded within the national celebrations so as to question what is presented as unquestionable. Drawing on Castoriadis' (1983) theory of autonomous societies, I argue that we need democratic educational institutions that could envelop a theatre/drama in education approach that encourages and enables the citizens to re-create a self-instituting democratic polis. In conclusion, we need to reconsider the role of national celebrations and reinstate/re-establish the place and role of drama/theatre in education, because when theatre is in jeopardy, democracy is in jeopardy.

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Appendix A

Student's Name: _____

Age: _____

Class: Στ'1 Στ'2

1. Where were you born?

☐ London

☐ Cyprus

☐ Greece

2. Where were your parents born?

☐ London

☐ Cyprus ☐ North ☐ South

☐ Greece

3. Where were your grandparents born?

☐ London

☐ Cyprus ☐ North ☐ South

☐ Greece

4. How would you describe yourself?

☐ Greek

☐ Greek-Cypriot

☐ Cypriot

☐ British

☐ British-Greek

☐ British-Greek-Cypriot

☐ British-Cypriot

5. I come to the Greek school: (rank 3 choices: 1 your first choice, 2 your second and 3 your last)

- ☐ Because I like it
- ☐ To make new friends
- ☐ Because my parents want me to come
- ☐ To learn Greek
- ☐ To get a GCSE/A Level certificate
- ☐ Because I am Greek/Cypriot
- ☐ I like learning new things
- ☐ Because my friends/cousins are coming

6. I feel more Greek when: (rank 2 choices)

- ☐ I go to church
- ☐ I am at Greek school
- ☐ I am at English school
- ☐ I speak Greek
- ☐ I eat Greek food

7. I feel more British when: (rank 2 choices)

- ☐ I am with my friends from the English school
- ☐ I am with my brothers/sisters/cousins
- ☐ I am at English school
- ☐ I speak English
- ☐ I eat English food

8. When I do plays at Greek school: (rank 3 choices)

- ☐ I speak Greek more fluently
- ☐ I make more friends
- ☐ I feel proud to be Greek
- ☐ I learn Greek history
- ☐ I make my school proud
- ☐ I make my family proud
- ☐ I feel more confident

9. Two things that the play teaches us about the Greek-Cypriot people: _____

10. Two things that the play teaches us about the English people: _____

11. I feel more Greek when: (rank 2 choices)

- ☐ I am with my friends from the Greek school
- ☐ I am in Cyprus
- ☐ I am with my parents
- ☐ I am with my grandparents
- ☐ I am with my brothers/sisters/cousins

12. I speak more Greek (rank 2 choices)

- ☐ I am with my friends from the Greek school
- ☐ I am with my brothers/sisters/cousins
- ☐ I am with my parents
- ☐ I am with my grandparents
- ☐ I do theatre plays in the Greek school

13. Select your answer from the following:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I like coming to the Greek school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I like participating in Greek school celebrations and theatre plays	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel more proud when I do Greek theatre plays	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

14. At Greek school I prefer to speak: (pick 1)

- ☐ Greek
☐ Cypriot

15. At Greek school I prefer to learn: (pick 1)

- ☐ Greek
☐ Cypriot

Thank you very much for your help!



Appendix B

Sample of Interview Questions

Teachers

Ice-breaker/socio-cultural questions

1. Where were you born?
2. How many years have you been in London?
3. Background education
4. Background professional experience.

Role of the community school

1. How would you describe the role of the community school?
2. What purposes/needs does it meet?
3. What is its role in reference to:
 - Greek community in London, Cyprus, Greece
 - Language (discussion on dialect issues)
 - Culture
 - Religion
 - Identity
4. Are there any political ideologies in reference to the community school?
5. Do you feel that the social/economic class of the parents affects the function of the school?
6. Is there something that you would like to change?

National Celebrations

1. How would you describe the role of national celebrations within the community school?
2. What purposes/needs do they meet?
3. What is their role in reference to:
 - Greek community in London, Cyprus, Greece
 - Language
 - Culture
 - Religion
 - Identity
4. Do the national celebration theatre plays have an impact on the community and the school? If yes, how would you describe it?
5. When you teach theatre plays related to national celebrations how do you approach it?
6. What is your focus when you teach the content/context of national celebrations? (examples)
7. Based on what criteria do you choose the events that you teach and the resources that you use in the classroom? (examples)

How would you describe your identity?

Parents

Ice-breaker/socio-cultural questions

1. Where were you born?
2. How many years have you been in London?
3. Background education/ professional experience.

Role of the community school

1. Why have you chosen Greek community education for your child/children?
2. How would you describe the role of the community school?
3. What purposes/needs does it meet for the community/ for your family?
4. Is there something that you would like to change?
5. What is its role in reference to:
 - Greek community in London, Cyprus, Greece
 - Language
 - Culture
 - Religion
 - Identity (what expectations do you have from the community school?)
6. Do you feel that the parents' socio-economic class affects the function of the school?
7. Are there any political ideologies related to the function of the community school?

Language

1. What language do you usually speak at home with your children/brothers/sisters/ parents?
2. In which occasions do you speak English/Greek?
3. Do you speak Greek or Cypriot?
4. What language would you prefer your children to speak/learn? (English/Greek/Greek-Cypriot)

Religion

1. What is the place and role of religion within the Greek community and the Greek community school?
2. Do you go to church?
3. How do you approach the issue of religion within your family? (discussions, traditions, ethos)

National Celebrations

1. How would you describe the role of national celebrations within the community school?
2. What purposes/needs do they meet?
3. What is their role in reference to:
 - Greek community in London, Cyprus, Greece
 - Language
 - Culture
 - Religion
 - Identity
4. Do the national celebration theatre plays have an impact on the community, the school, and the children? If yes, how would you describe it?
5. Could you describe your experience when your child participated in the theatre play of Evagoras Pallikarides? (at home, at school)

6. How do you feel when you participate as an audience in these celebrations?

Identity

1. How would you describe your identity (Greek, Greek-Cypriot, British, British-Greek, British-Cypriot, British-Greek-Cypriot)?
2. Could you give me examples of things that make you feel (or things you do) British and things that make you feel (or things you do) Greek or Greek-Cypriot (depending on the answer on the previous question)
3. How would you describe your child's/children's identity?

*Similar questions will be followed for the grandparents with an emphasis on changes that they detect between generations, thus between their children and grandchildren.

Students

Ice-breaker/socio-cultural questions

1. Where were you born?
2. Where were your parents/grandparents born?
3. (If first generation) how many years have you been in London?

Role of the community school

1. Why do you come to the Greek school?
2. What do you expect/wish to learn/achieve while coming to the Greek school? (Based on the student's answer we discuss issues of language, culture, identity, etc)
3. Do you like it? If yes, what/why do you like it? If no, what/why you don't like it?
4. Is there something that you would like to change?
5. Why do you think that we start the assembly with the prayer 'Pater imon'? Do you go to church? (Explore issues of Religion)
6. What language do you usually speak at home with your parents/brothers/sisters/ grandparents?
7. In which occasions do you speak English/Greek?
8. Do you prefer to speak Greek or Cypriot? (Discussion on language and dialect issues)

National Celebrations

1. Why do you think we do the national celebrations?
2. Would you like to describe how it felt to participate in the play of Evagoras?
3. What did you learn from that play?
4. How would you describe Evagoras and EOKA? (Issues of representation)
5. Did you discuss the play with someone in your family or with your friends (if yes what did you discuss)?
6. Would you like to do it again?

Identity

1. How would you describe your identity (Greek, Greek-Cypriot, British, British-Greek, British-Cypriot, British-Greek-Cypriot)?
2. Could you give me examples of things that make you feel British and things that make you feel Greek or Greek-Cypriot (depending on the answer on the previous question).
3. Let's imagine that you meet someone from another country/planet. Someone who has never been to Cyprus or Greece or England. That person (you can give him/her a name) asks you to describe people in these countries. How would you describe
 - Cypriots in Cyprus
 - Cypriots in London
 - British in London
 - Greeks in Greece.
 - Greeks in London (stereotypes, representations)

What would you say about them, their country, their traditions, their history?

Appendix C

7.1 Letter to students and parents

Dear [participant's name]

This letter is to invite you to participate in a research project that is looking at the educational experiences and identity negotiation processes of Greek and Greek-Cypriot students that attend the Greek community school. You have been selected because you [or your child] will participate in the national celebration of the school that takes place on [date and place]. For this study we are primarily interested in hearing your own views on the role of the community school in your life.

Participation in the study will involve a one-to-one informal interview at a time and place convenient to you. I will personally be conducting the interviews; I am a PhD student at the University of Warwick.

The results will be anonymous and confidential and will not be released in any identifiable form or in any research papers that are published from this study. Your participation is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw at any time.

If you would like to participate in this study, please sign the attached consent form and ask your parents to sign it as well. Please include a contact number where I contact you in order to arrange the interview.

If you and/or your parents have any questions about participation in this study or you would like more information, please feel free to contact me by mail a.simpson@warwick.ac.uk or by phone 02086945605.

I hope you think this project, which is highlighting the role of the community school, is worth supporting in the way outlined.

Yours sincerely,
Aspasia Simpsi

PhD Researcher

7.2. Consent Form

Consent Form

I agree to participate in the research interview being conducted by Miss Aspasia Simpsi. I understand participation is voluntary and I can withdraw at any time.

The following points have been explained to me:

- The reason for the research is to gain a better understanding of the educational experiences within the Greek community school.
- Participation in this study involves a one-to-one informal interview with Miss Aspasia Simpsi, lasting approximately half an hour, at a time and place convenient to me.
- The results of participation will be confidential, anonymous and will not be released in any individually identifiable form.

If you would like to participate, please sign your name and leave a contact number for Miss Simpsi to contact you to make arrangements for the interview. Please have a parent or guardian sign for you as well.

Your name

.....

Signature

.....

Contact telephone number

.....

Parent/Guardian's name:

.....

Parent/Guardian's signature:

.....

Appendix D

The participants

Educators (first generation)			
Mr. Manolis	Head-teacher (pilot study)	mid 50s	Greek-Cypriot
Mrs. Elena	Playwright/educator (pilot study)	mid 50s	Greek-Cypriot
Mr. Kostas	Year 6 Teacher	early 60s	Greek-Cypriot
Mrs. Fane	Year 6 Teacher	early 30s	Greek-Cypriot
Mrs. Melanie	Year 4 Teacher	late 20s	Greek
Mrs. Anna	A Level's Teacher	late 30s	Greek
Students & Parents/Grand Parents (Greek-Cypriots)			
Maria (2nd generation)	Student	Year 6	British born Greek-Cypriot
Mrs. Maria	Maria's Grand Mother (1st generation)	early 60s	Greek-Cypriot
Iasonas (3rd generation)	Student	Year 6	British born Greek-Cypriot
Mr. Ioannis	Iasona's father (2nd generation)	early 40s	British born Greek-Cypriot
Ellie (2nd-3rd generation)	Student	Year 6	British born Greek-Cypriot
Mr. Nikos	Ellie's father (1st -2nd generation)	early 40s	Born in Cyprus- (Raised/educated in England)
Constantina (1st generation)	Student	Year 6	Greek-Cypriot
Mrs. Chrisa (2nd generation)	Constantina's mother	early 40s	British born Greek-Cypriot (born/educated in the U.K. moved to Cyprus for 10 years and then back to the U.K.

Within the analysis, for purposes of reading convenience all the educators/teachers are referred with the title Mr./Mrs., e.g. Mrs. Elena; the students are referred with their first name, e.g. Maria; and, the family members in reference to their relation to the student, e.g. Iasona's father. All names used are pseudonyms.